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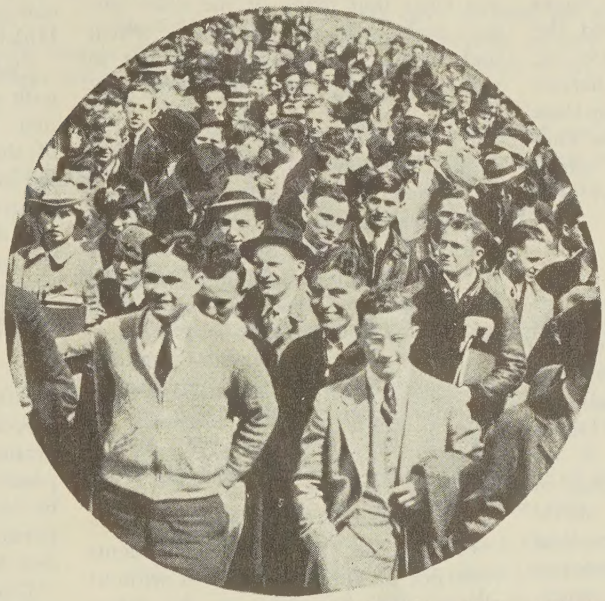
THE STUDENT STRIKE.... A RICH TRADITION



TIMES WIDE WORLD PHOTO

The Annual Anti-War Strike Climaxes A Dramatic Year of Student Activities

by ALBERT SUSSMAN

CERTAINLY if an accurate barometer of student temper had been devised by the 13th of April 1934, it should have been possible to foretell the tempestuous quality of campus weather on that morning.

But neither friends nor foe appreciated the dimensions and historic character of the first student strike against war. And few observers realized the significance of the moment when 25,000 students marched out of their classes at eleven o'clock that morning. One leader of the National Student Strike Committee admitted later: "We did not know our own strength"; while on the other hand, newspapers and commentators did not take this first strike over-seriously, consoling their own consciences by a description of the walkout as another collegiate prank.

A NEW GENERATION

Yet, by 1938, as the campuses over the nation prepare for the fifth annual student protest against war, no other activity approaches it in mass character, nor shares its drama and militancy. The student strike today is almost universally observed. Nothing in the history of undergraduate life holds its dramatic quality, and its impact on participants and enemies alike is overwhelming.

Where a quart of gin may have balanced the diet of an early post-war campus, a new generation emerged to break with the jaded past. History texts had taught that the first world war was caused simply by an assassination at Sarajevo but undergraduate understanding began to discern deeper causes, asking more profound questions.

After Japan's invasion of Manchuria in the fall of 1931, after the rise of Hitler, it was only reasonable that the student strike in 1934 assume the character of an anti-fascist protest and a resolve not to repeat the errors of a previous generation. That first year, the strike was sponsored and organized by the two leading campus progressive organizations: the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League. It was, in fact, one of the many united front activities which proved the possibility and necessity of unity on the campus, preparing the way for the eventual merger of progressive student forces.

One year later, on the 12th of April, 1935 the sponsors of the strike were reinforced by the National Council of Methodist Youth, the Youth section of the American League against War and Fascism, the Middle Atlantic Division of the Interseminary movement, the American Youth Congress, the National Student Federation, and the Student Christian movement.

When 175,000 students merged their allegiances in such dramatic common action, the country took notice. Newspaper editorials thought the strike of sufficient importance to polemicize with its slogans. College administrations hardly camouflaged their antagonism. Open incitement to the formation of reactionary student groups appeared in college press dispatches.

PREXIES PEEVED

At San Jose State College, President T. W. McQuarrie berated the strikers as a "disloyal group of vicious and partly demented people." Little wonder that some of these meetings were disbanded in the hail of rotten eggs and missiles of a vegetable character.

In California again, administration officials attempted to drown out the strike slogans by roaring into the microphones of the campus public address system. At one place, director Roscoe

Ingalls stood in front of the student speakers blowing a tin whistle until he was red in the face. After a police attack on the strikers, the college sprinkler system was turned on, routing everyone in a cloudburst.

Everywhere else, reactionary forces on and off the campus attacked the strike violently. A particular plutocrat, at San Simeon, directed his fiercest barrage especially at the participation of high school students, with the kind of propaganda that no decent editor would touch with a ten-foot copy pencil.

BIRTH OF THE ASU

The experiences of this action strengthened the desire for unity among campus progressives, leading to the amalgamation convention of the two radical student organization and the birth of the American Student Union in the winter of 1935.

Predicated on the conviction that an organization of all shades of liberal opinion around a common practical program was essential for the progress of the student movement, the American Student Union quickly became an inspiration for even greater anti-war activity.

The dimensions and scope of the April 22, 1936 action gave the American Student Union a position of accredited leadership among the anti-war forces with whom it cooperated. More than 500,000 students responded to the strike call. For the first time Negro colleges participated as a body. Everywhere new thousands of high school students walked out, or else staged peace demonstrations in the official school assembly hours. In St. Louis, the student strike inspired a two-minute sympathy stoppage by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union.

In three short years, an experienced strike leadership had emerged on every campus, a strike tradition rooted itself in campus precedent and captured national attention.

CHANGING TIMES

From now on, however, the student protests against war lost every vestige of their academic character. In the summer of 1936, the military uprising in Spain and the subsequent planned invasion of that republic by the fascist armies brought the problem of fascist aggression on a world scale sharply to the fore.

Differentiation of strike slogans and strike direction became necessary. It was clear that many of the older slogans such as the Oxford pledge, which had served the student movement so well in the early years were now outworn.

The Oxford Pledge had served to attract attention to the student anti-war protest. Dramatically insisting that the American student body would not defend the United States in case of war, this slogan caught the headlines, and struck bold type in the editorial columns of the capitalist press.

Despite its considerable publicity value, and the number of purely pacifist students attracted by the Pledge, it soon became clear that there were several fundamental objections to a pledge of this kind.

PLEDGE OBJECTIONS

First of all, thousands of students were not prepared to adopt it without reservations. Secondly, as the international developments resulted in the emergence of the fascist threat to world peace, the Pledge assumed responsibility for misdirecting the necessary emphasis of student anti-war action.

War was here. War threatened to engulf the world. Whole peoples were being submerged in the tidal wave of fascist advance. A reorientation of the student peace movement became essential in order to give realism and immediate meaning to the strike against war.

IMMEDIATE NEED

Since 1936, a process of clarification of the student peace movement has been under way. The convention of the Student Union at Vassar in the winter of 1937, helped this clarification with a change in its peace program to throw the main emphasis of anti-war protest against fascist aggression and for a positive peace policy on the part of the American government.

The ability of the student peace movement to react swiftly to changing events was recently shown by the series of spontaneous strikes that swept the colleges in New York at the time of Hitler's invasion of Austria.

Old leaders, unable to keep pace with changing times are being discredited. The militancy and understanding of the student body itself emerges in the nation-wide demands for a peace program for the American people that will distinguish between the victim and the aggressor, that will help democratic Spain in her hour of need, that will halt and cripple Japanese fascism.

NEXT STEP

After the strike this year, the student movement must march on to more dramatic and consistent action for peace. Because the issue today cannot be confined to a single protest on one particular day, no matter how extensive and stirring that protest may be.

Consistent and continual activity will arouse every individual on every campus to a personal sense of responsibility for peace today.

MEMORIAL DAY

May 30th, 1938 offers an excellent opportunity for intensified action against war. The United States commemorates the first world war at a moment when nothing positive is being done to halt the forces that prepare for a second world war. It is appropriate that the student body, in alliance with other peace forces, speak out on this Memorial Day.

Let our commemoration of the war-dead this year be an affirmation that fascism shall be halted, that Spain and China will be saved, that America will keep out of war by keeping war out of the world.

Let us give expression to this affirmation by widespread demands for the lifting of the embargo on Spain and China; for passage of the O'Connell Bill; for cooperation with the Soviet Union, France, and England to make further fascist aggression impossible. Let governmental action cut off all sources of supplies to the fascist powers.

YOUNG COMMUNIST

REVIEW

EDITOR . . . . . *Joseph Starobin*

EDITORIAL BOARD . . . *Francis Franklin, Gil Green, Angelo Herndon, Carl Ross, Celeste Strack, Henry Winston*

Volume III, Number 3 May, 1938

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• THE second issue of the REVIEW had too many shortcomings to escape the criticism of our very sensitive membership. While the material was considerably more substantial than the first issue, there were nevertheless so many technical objections that we could not consider it a success.

Moreover, our members will not be easily pleased. They want the best. Nothing, to paraphrase a saying from the Soviet Union, is too good for the Young Communist League. From several different parts of the country came complaints in no uncertain language. One district organizer went so far as to ask whether we could afford better paper if every district offered to take say 35 more copies each month. Our literature agent, Mike Lewis, in Chicago complained bitterly that most of the covers came off . . . and of course, wants a discount from his bill. On the same tack, comrade De Wayne Clark of Denver, Colorado sent a formal protest in "behalf of the Central branch of the Denver YCL against the poor quality of the paper in the April issue. It is a shame," the comrade writes "that a magazine of such a high quality otherwise should be printed on such inferior paper."

Well, the customer is right. Gentlemen, the customer is always right. And this month we have made an effort to learn quickly from our mistakes and shortcomings of the past. We have improved the magazine technically and also from the point of view of content, inaugurating a series of features that will meet the needs of the YCL reader.

We have changed our printer, and engraver, and decided not to economize on any phase of the magazine that will materially detract from its appearance and the quality of its contents.

Inspiring many of our very busy district organizers to a new conception of their relation toward the REVIEW, we have scouted the country for a representative selection of authors and articles.

• BUT . . . and this is the most important BUT in the whole story, our members must respond to the financial obligations of the magazine with greater responsibility. First of all, every branch must see to it that a literature agent is elected to handle the REVIEW as well as all other literature in a systematic fashion. From the purely business point of view, and from the political point of view, this is essential.

Secondly, each literature agent should order copies from his district agent (or county agent) not later than the 15th of each month, making every effort to boost the circulation over previous levels. Don't forget: the REVIEW is not a house organ. Take it out to the young people in your community. They have never seen it before.

All orders to the National Office should be accompanied by a 25% down payment, with the balance available by the time the order for the next magazine is made. If possible, each district should establish a fund for the REVIEW, which will make easier the financing of these advance orders. Remember that we have the next issue of the magazine ready before you have finished reading the previous number. And we have to keep the wheels turning.

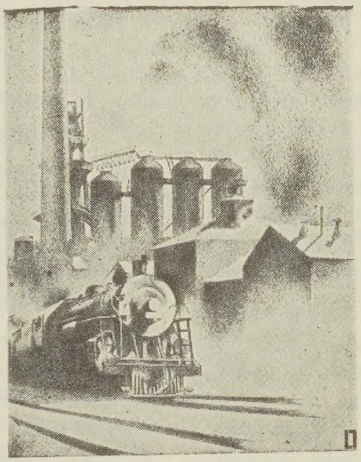
Complete business responsibility combined with political imagination that should boost the REVIEW circulation several fold. . . . these are our slogans. And when our circulation goes zooming, then our credit allowances will be liberalized, and things will be easier on the districts.

Just to drive a good point home . . . we want to reveal that two YCL districts are on the dunce-stool this month. *They did not receive the April issue because they showed no willingness to pay for the March issue.*

Let the country know that the Philadelphia and Connecticut district organizations kept the magazine from their memberships because of financial recalcitrance. Of course, political steps are being taken to overcome this situation. Nor should other districts try to emulate this bad example, for it will lead to the ruin of the magazine and make impossible its further publication.

• PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has proposed a series of economic measures designed to check the "recession," to prevent the onset of economic crisis.

In many parts of the country, unemployment embraces the majority of the population. Applications for relief have doubled. Work is near a standstill and the big plants in the basic industries are operating far below the prosperity of a year ago. Within six months, production has fallen with such a resounding bang that the entire country is startled into need for action. Capitalism is again in crisis, a crisis caused by the operation of the cyclical laws of the system, but intensified by several important factors. The general fragility of the international situation, wherein fascism threatens world peace at every crossroad, gives the business world the jitters.



Having skimmed the cream off recovery to the tune of four billions in dividends, the Big Business forces in America are utilizing the crisis to defeat the progressive measures of the Roosevelt administration and negate the will of the people.

The masses elected Roosevelt in 1936 because they had no confidence in Tory leadership of the national community. The masses supported Roosevelt because he promised certain practical measures for the solution of their burning needs.

Today the crisis has made these needs even deeper and more widespread than they were in the days of November 1936.

Reactionaries have taken courage from their recent success in defeating the Reorganization bill and they are now out to spike the President's proposals at all costs.

The welfare of the toiling population is at stake. Understanding that the struggle against fascism in the United States requires energetic action in defense of the popular welfare the full weight of the people's pressure must be thrown behind President Roosevelt's proposals.

These proposals are:

Maintenance of relief: Congress is asked to make available $1,250,000,000 for the WPA; $50,000,000 for the CCC; $75,000,000 for the NYA, and $175,000,000 for the Farm Security Administration.

Liberalization of credit: involving the authorization of $1,400,000,000 worth of currency.

Providing new work: Congress is asked to authorize an expenditure of $450,000,000 by the PWA; $100,000,000 for highways, $37,000,000 for flood control, and $25,000,000 for public buildings. In addition, one billion dollars for States and local subdivisions for public works and $300,000,000 in Treasury loans to the Housing Administration.

A simple examination of these items reveals that each one fills an immediate need for every category of the working population.

While inadequate in terms of a fundamental solution of the problem, and insufficient from the point of view of the broad social requirements of 130,000,000 people, these proposals are nevertheless a minimum to relieve distress and prime the pump of business.

If the reactionary forces raised such a duststorm around the Reorganization Bill then Labor and the progressive forces must not underestimate their tasks now. Dangerous and vicious men are conspiring in a willful malicious effort to mangle representative government and defeat the clearly expressed will of the people.

Several things must be done immediately, and the youth movement must help decisively since several of these measures benefit the youth directly.

1. An avalanche of vocal support to the President and the progressive leadership in Congress.
2. A campaign arousing every energy of the trade unions, the fraternal lodges, the classrooms, clarifying the issues beyond all possible confusion.
3. United action on the trade union front, cementing unity in the labor movement by joint action of the AFL, the CIO and independent unions in ratification of the President's program.
4. Action by city, state and local bodies memorializing Congress to authorize the above proposals.
5. Putting every candidate in local elections on record in favor of these economic measures.

This fight is a vital link in the fight for more and more democracy. It must be conducted openly and vigorously, on the broadest possible scale.

The enemies of the people are strong, unscrupulous, well organized, and well financed.

Only an aroused people will be able to defeat them.

• THE APRIL REVIEW contained an important contribution by Comrade James West on the Seattle Mayoralty Elections. This article relates the experiences of, and novel methods employed by, the youth of Seattle in behalf of progressive political action. The YCL nationally can learn much from a study of these experiences, and prepare itself to meet the 1938 Congressional Elections.

While illuminating in its elaboration of a youth electoral policy, Comrade West's article did not show the same degree of clarity on the *general* tactic to be employed in the development of the Democratic Front. It appears as though the comrades of Seattle, in their anxiety to bring about the defeat of Dore, the former mayor and candidate of the A. F. of L., a red-baiter of the worst type, neglected to conduct their main fight against the major candidate of the reactionary forces, Langley. How other-

wise can we explain that Comrade West not as much as mentions the name of Langley, but makes it appear as though Jim Dore was the only candidate to be defeated?

This failure to see Langley as the main candidate of reaction undoubtedly made it more difficult to mobilize the citizens of Seattle to defeat Langley in the final elections after Dore had been eliminated in the primaries. It made it more difficult to unite the forces of labor, including those who had supported Dore, in behalf of Meyers, the candidate supported by the CIO and Labor's Non-Partisan League.

It is now necessary for the progressive youth forces of Seattle to draw the main lesson from the results of the Mayoralty election. This is: labor and progressive unity is absolutely necessary in order to defeat the candidates of reaction. When the labor movement is itself divided on the political front, as was the case in Seattle, the reactionary anti-labor forces are the only ones who benefit.

For the national congressional elections the progressive political youth forces must work to guarantee labor unity, must strive at all times to direct their main fire against the candidates of the reactionary Liberty-League elements.

• IT IS something over a month now since the President made public his message to Congress, transmitting the report of his Advisory Committee on Education.

The recommendations of this report are of major importance to all young people, and constitute the basis for progressive legislation with which the youth movement is vitally concerned. In some respects, the report embodies parts of the American Youth Act, thus acknowledging the mass sentiment behind that Act.

The President's Committee on Education proposes a series of Federal grants to the states to improve educational facilities and extend educational opportunities. Beginning at $70,000,000 in 1939-40, these grants will increase to $199,000,000 by the winter of 1941, reaching a total of more than 4/5 of a billion dollars.

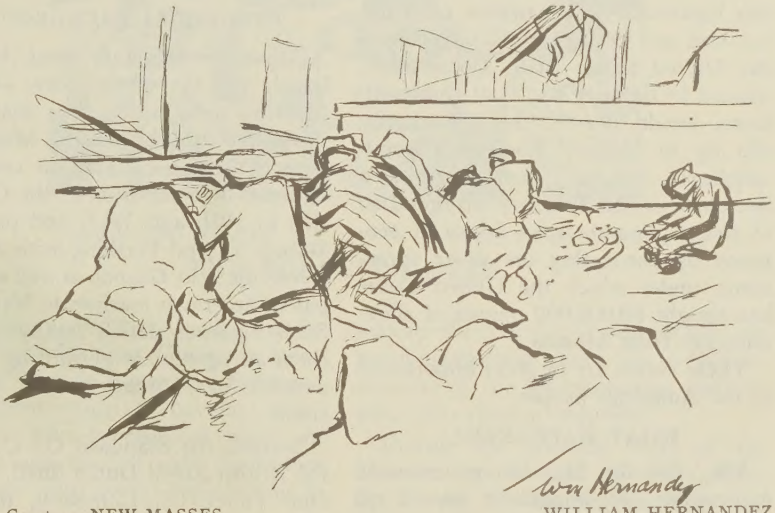
The appropriations will range from physical facilities such as schoolhouses, to vocational training, aid for educational research, money for clothing, carfare, books for needy students, with special emphasis on equalizing opportunity for rural students and Negro youth.

Finally, the report recommends the continuation of NYA aid, and favors the organization of a new agency, the National Youth Service Administration, combining the NYA with the CCC, which would be taken out of military control.

At several points, a real understanding of the educational problem emerges from the report, particularly when the committee discusses the "millions of young people, who are neither at school, at work, nor obtaining any kind of experience that might eventually prepare them for work." Or again, referring to the CCC, the Committee recognizes that "it is not in the American tradition to use the military . . . for any long period for the determination of civilian educational policies, and the administration of a major educational enterprise."

Without making an extended criticism of the report at this time, we want, first of all, to call attention to it. Many of the things we have all been fighting for are recognized in the President's message, although the absence of specific proposals for unemployed young workers is still a major shortcoming.

These proposals of the President's Advisory Committee can form the basis for progressive legislation, only if the reactionary filibuster which is now logjamming Congress is broken. This will require the greatest possible pressure from the youth movement as well as all the progressive forces of the people. It will require mobilization for the election of progressive Congressmen this November, and redoubled energies on the part of the American Youth Congress and its supporters.



Courtesy, NEW MASSES

WILLIAM HERNANDEZ

• AS WE go to press, no word has come across the Atlantic about Comrade Dave Doran, the political commissar of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, who is not yet accounted for after the recent Loyalist retreat on the Aragon front.

Comrade Doran is personally extremely resourceful. Unless he has been irretrievably lost, we are confident that he, together with the other members of the leading staff of the Brigade, will find his way to safety. The entire YCL membership, as well as all Americans who follow Spanish events closely, stand by for further news.

MEXICO MARCHES FORWARD!

Popular Unity Supports Nationalization Policies

by HARRY ROBINSON

AT LAST, imperialism, which pretends to act in a sovereign nation as though it were a conquered country, has been answered with firmness. The Mexican Republic has long suffered the insolent demands, the economic sabotage of the oil companies. Before circumstances reached the point of armed revolt, the Mexican government has taken the legal recourse allowed it by its Constitution and expropriated the oil properties.

The American capitalist press met this legitimate action with a tremendous hue and cry. The reactionaries in the United States State Department, headed by Sumner Welles of Cuban ill-fame, would not let the opportunity slip by to hamper Roosevelt's good-neighbor policy. They convinced Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau to bring pressure upon Mexican economy by abrogating the silver agreement, under which the United States has bought 60,000,000 ounces of silver annually from Mexico.

These events are of great importance to the American people.

WHAT HAPPENED?

Why did the Mexican government expropriate the imperialist owned oil industry? Last year, the oil workers, under the leadership of the Mexican Confederation of Labor, struck for higher wages. The case was referred to the Department of Conciliation and Arbitration in accordance with the Mexican laws. A committee of experts was appointed to consider the objections made by the oil companies to the payment of higher wages. This committee, after due deliberation and study, reported that the companies could afford the 26,000,000 pesos annually demanded by the workers. The oil companies appealed the case to the Mexican Supreme Court, which decided in favor of the workers.

The oil companies proceeded to defy the Supreme Court of Mexico, and the Mexican government thereupon expropriated the $450,000,000 properties of the oil companies.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

These are the bare facts, but they hardly tell the whole story. First, the Mexican constitution says that everything beneath the soil of Mexico belongs to the nation. The oil companies opposed that provision of the Constitution in 1916 and 1917, and persuaded Wilson to send Pershing with an army below the Rio Grande as well as to despatch American marines to Vera Cruz. Such vigorous action finally won for them an agreement permitting all concessions in existence before 1910 to stand.

Second, the Standard Oil Company, the British Royal Dutch Shell, the Sinclair Pierce Oil Company, the Penn Mex Oil Company and the others secured their oil properties for a song during the rule of the Mexican tyrant, Porfirio Diaz, which was cut short by the revolution of 1910. Because of the terribile exploitation of the Mexican oil workers, the companies have recovered their original investment ten times over. The profit on Mexican oil was higher than the profit on oil produced in the United States.

Third, oil is the largest industry in Mexico, next to mining. To maintain the dependence of Mexico on foreign capital, to prevent the growth of a large native working class in Mexico, and thus to prevent the march of progress in the age-old Aztec country, the oil magnates do not reinvest in Mexico the profits they have derived from Mexico, but withdraw them to the United States.

The nationalization, therefore, of this key industry is a great stride toward complete economic independence for Mexico. That is why world imperialism will stop at nothing to prevent Mexico from achieving its full independence, as it is stopping at nothing today in Spain and China.

INTERVENTION FOILED

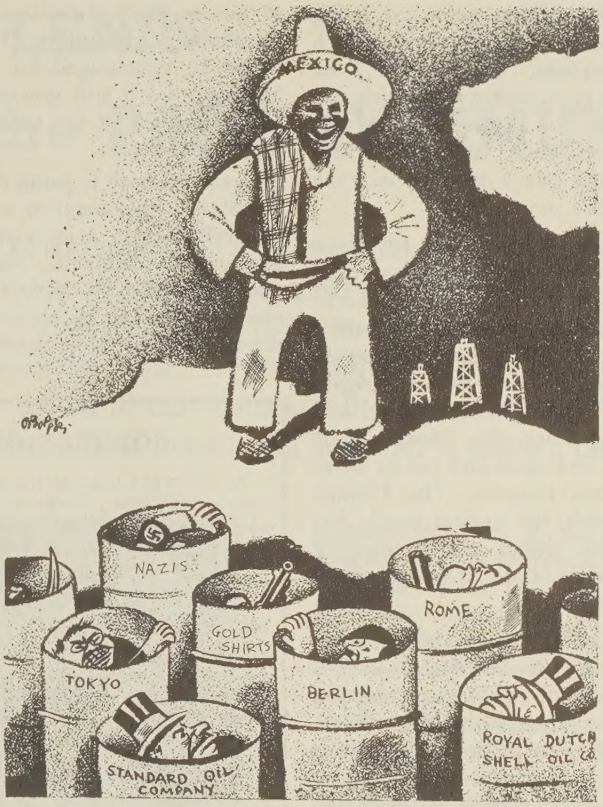
For a time, immediately after the expropriation decree and the formal note of the U. S. government, the oil magnates hoped that they would secure U. S. intervention, a step openly advocated by Britain's Tories. But President Roosevelt dashed their hopes. He stated that the Mexican government would be expected to pay only the purchase price of the American investments in Mexico, less depreciation. That is precisely what Mexico offered to pay. So today the oil companies desire to overthrow the government of Mexico at any cost. If the United States democracy will not assist them, they will maneuver for the help of German and Italian fascism, in itself an eventual threat to American democracy.

This is in no way far

"FORGETTING THAT THEY HAVE BEEN FORMED AS MEXICAN COMPANIES, UNDER MEXICAN LAWS, FOREIGN CAPITAL EVADES . . . THE OBLIGATIONS WHICH THE AUTHORITIES . . . IMPOSE UPON THEM. . . . IT IS AN EVIDENT AND CLEAR CASE WHICH OBLIGES THE GOVERNMENT TO APPLY THE LAW OF EXPROPRIATION." . . . . . *President Cardenas, March 19, 1938*

fetched. Venezuela is an example. There the U. S. does not help the Standard Oil Company and the Royal Dutch Shell to hamper the spread of Democratic government. With the connivance of these "American" companies, German and Italian agents are openly bought and their propaganda financed. The government of Lopez Contreras is forced into dependence upon German and Italian fascism.

But Mexico has not been caught napping. Only a national-revolutionary government such as that of President Cardenas, which bases itself on the broadest masses of the people, the workers and peasants, could undertake such a serious step as the expropriation of the foreign oil industry.



Courtesy, NEW MASSES WILLIAM GROPPER

THE FORTY THIEVES

PEOPLE'S FRONT FORMED

On the 31st of March, Mexico achieved a real People's Front government, with the changing of the National Revolutionary Party into the Party of the Revolution. On that date, a historic convention brought into one party the Confederation of Mexican Workers, containing a million trade unionists, the Mexican Peasants Confederation, the Regional Confederation of Labor (CROM), the Anarchist trade union center, the General Confederation of Labor, (CGT), the delegates from the whole army, democratically elected, the delegates from all the popular organizations, such as the Unified Socialist Youth, the Women's organizations, the student organizations, etc.

Immediately upon the publication of the expropriation decree, the President and the new party took steps to insure the widest progressive mobilization of the masses. The week of March 21st was proclaimed "Week of National Cooperation for the Oil Industry." Throughout the whole republic, the people came into the streets in demonstrations of support to the measures of the government. In the smallest mountain villages, in the new ejidos (communal property) in the Laguna region, where the land has been divided on a collective basis, in Yucatan, where the great imperialist hemp growers lost their land to the super-exploited agricultural laborers and small peasants, on the nationalized railroads, run by the Railroad Workers Union, in every corner of Mexico the masses expressed their understanding of what their country faces. The government paper *El Nacional* was flooded with resolutions of support from every organization in Mexico.

N. Y. TIMES CORRESPONDENT

This unanimous support, this tremendous mass mobilization, gives the lie to the American correspondents, such as Kluckhohn of the *Times*, who tried to make the American people believe that Mexico was scared stiff by the steps it had taken. A comment about him in *Futuro,* organ of the CTM Workers University, is enlightening. The article entitled "Correspondent or Imperialist Agent," comes to the conclusion: "The Mexican people does not ask foreign correspondents to become propagandists of our government . . . but it is not disposed to tolerate the presence of persons who are newspapermen in name, but in fact are servants of the oil companies and the other American monopolies."

Despite the growing unity of the Mexican people and the steps taken by all the leading organizations and the government to cement that unity, the storm is not over. There are undoubtedly days of great danger ahead.

The oil companies have deepened and continued their campaign of economic sabotage; they have intensified their acts of terror and provocation. Every day brings new notices of the assassination of another popular leader. Thus far, two senators, the Mayor of Juarez, leaders of peasant ejidos, have been murdered. The fascists' preparation for the rebellion in Spain is being duplicated today in Mexico.

Mexico's answer to these acts of terror and economic sabotage has been to gird its loins for a serious struggle.

One hundred million pesos are being raised by popular subscription, to which the organizations, the workers, the farmers, the government employees, are contributing. As a sacrifice towards fuller independence, the workers are giving a day's pay a month—in some cases, a week's pay.

The President has called for more effort on the part of the working class for higher rates of production. Technicians are being educated on a mass scale to operate the national industries. In a message to the youth, Cardenas called upon them to master science and technique so that the Mexico they inherit shall be owned and run by them for their own interests. The Unified Socialist Youth, the student youth, has taken up this slogan and is bringing it to the masses of the youth throughout the country.

At the moment there is danger of an economic crisis, an element of which is a general boycott of Mexican exports and imports by the American financiers. To avert this the Communist Party calls upon the government to curb speculators and take the necessary measures to prevent the undue rise in the cost of living.

AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY

For the American people and the youth of the United States, the necessity for giving all possible help to Mexico is clear. The democratic vanguard of our southern neighbors must be protected at all costs. Fascism plans to attack the United States through Mexico, by creating on our frontier a fascist dictatorship over the Mexican people. Their fight against American democracy goes hand in hand with their struggle to overthrow the Mexican government.

Let us not forget that the American oil interests who so brazenly violate the sovereign laws of Mexico, who are allied with the Japanese, German, and Italian agents are also the same forces who violate the Wagner Labor Act and strive to defeat every progressive movement in the United States.

The enemies of the Mexican people are the same enemies we meet up with at home—the economic royalists and the Liberty Leaguers. These forces would be encouraged by a victory in Mexico toward still greater opposition to the interests of the toiling masses in the United States.

Great pressure is being exerted upon the State Department to associate with Great Britain in a joint protest to the Mexican government. Chamberlain is only too ready to apply economic, financial and even military sanctions . . . not against the fascist aggressors . . . but against the peaceful, democratic government of Mexico. Chamberlain is a fascist stooge, and his activities have nothing in common with democracy, with the good neighbor policy professed by the Roosevelt administration.

It is to the shame of the American people that, with respect to Spain, the practical policy of the United States supports Chamberlain and gives Mussolini and Hitler a free hand. Sumner Welles, and other reactionary gentlemen in the State Department, want this country to play the same role with regard to Mexico.

We insist that the words of Roosevelt about "quarantine of the aggressor" and "the good neighbor policy" become the actual policy of the State Department. Pressure in behalf of the Mexican people and its government is therefore of greatest significance, not merely to keep fascism from the American continent, but as a practical measure to force a change of policy on the part of the American government towards Spain.

Young Communists should study the great events which take place in Mexico today. Perhaps it is possible to arrange correspondence between the members of our League and the members of Unified Socialist Youth on questions of importance, such as advice and help on technique, etc. The tours which the American Student Union is organizing are an unequaled opportunity for our young people to acquaint themselves with the customs of our Mexican brothers and to see a real national revolutionary People's Front government in action.

Our people should be made aware of the danger which the great press campaign against the Mexican government signifies for their own liberties. The State Department should be deluged with resolutions from all youth organizations demanding that the good neighbor policy be carried out in action. The agreement to buy Mexican silver at the pegged price of the Treasury Department should be renewed. A new reciprocal trade treaty with Mexico should guarantee that their products are not boycotted by the American financiers. The oil which the Mexican government has to sell should be bought by the democratic nations, especially the United States, and should not be forced to go begging for what may eventually be a fascist market.

Events of decisive importance for the entire western hemisphere are transpiring in Mexico today. For the Young Communist League and the American youth, in general, the activities of the Mexican youth have meaning beyond Mexican borders. We should do all in our power to guarantee the triumph of the Mexican people in their struggle for independence. That struggle is also ours.

CORRECTION

In the April issue of the Young Communist REVIEW, in the article by Sanchez Cardenas of the Mexican Young Communist League, there was one factual error which ought to be corrected.

Comrade Cardenas is reporting the results of an investigation of the foreign oil properties in Mexico, and offers figures to show the profits which the oil companies are making in Mexico compared to their profits on similar investments in the United States. But the figures for profits in the United States were substituted for those in Mexico giving an extremely erroneous picture of the actual situation.

The corrections would read as follows: The American oil utilities reaped a profit of 17% on their total investments in Mexico, while in the United States their profit was only from 1.5 to 2% based on the total capital. This comparison emphasizes the exploitation which American imperialism imposes upon Mexican economy.

MARX, ENGELS, LENIN— on the PARIS COMMUNE

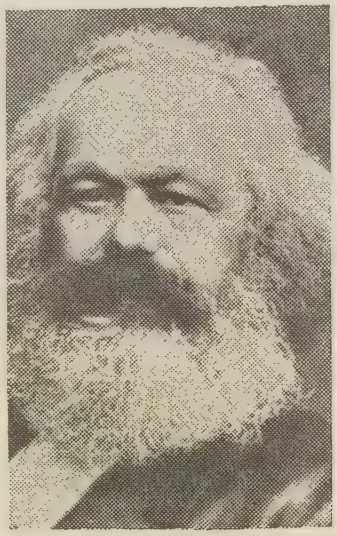
"Workingmen's Paris, with its Commune, will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them!"

"On the dawn of the 18th of March, 1871, Paris arose to the thunderburst of "Vive la Commune!' What is the Commune, that sphinx so tantalizing to the bourgeois mind?

" 'The proletarians of Paris,' said the Central Committee in its manifesto . . . 'amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their hands the direction of public affairs. . . . They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing upon the government power!"

HOW THE COMMUNE WORKED

"The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in various wards of the town, responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men, or acknowledged representatives of the working class. The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time. Instead of continuing to be the agent of the Central Government, the police was at once stripped of its political attributes, and turned into the responsible, and at all times revocable, agent of the Commune. So were the officials of all other branches of the Administration. From the members of the Commune downwards, the public service had to be done at *workmen's wages.* The vested interests and the representation allowances of the high dignitaries of State disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves. Public functions ceased to be the private property of the tools of the Central Government. Not only municipal administration, but the whole initiative hitherto exercised by the State was laid into the hands of the Commune.



KARL MARX

CHURCH AND STATE

"Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old Government, the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the 'parson-power,' by the disestablishment and disendowment of all churches as proprietary bodies. The priests were sent back to the recesses of private life, there to feed upon the alms of the faithful in imitation of their predecessors, the Apostles. The whole of the educational institutions were opened to the people gratuitously, and at the same time cleared of all interference of Church and State. Thus, not only was education made accessible to all, but science itself freed from the fetters which class prejudice and governmental force had imposed upon it.

"The judicial functionaries were to be divested of that sham independence which had but served to mask their abject subserviency to all succeeding governments to which, in turn, they had taken, and broken, the oaths of allegiance. Like the rest of public servants, magistrates and judges were to be elective, responsible and revocable.

MODEL FOR FRANCE

"The Paris Commune was, of course, to serve as a model to all the great industrial centres of France. The communal *regime* once established in Paris and the secondary centres, the old centralized government would in the provinces, too, have to give way to the self-government of the producers. In a rough sketch of national organizations which the Commune had no time to develop, it states clearly that the Commune was to be the political form of even the smallest country hamlet, and that in the rural districts the standing army was to be replaced by a national militia, with an extremely short term of service. The rural communes of every district were to administer their common affairs by an assembly of delegates in the central town, and these district assemblies were again to send

deputies to the National Delegation in Paris, each delegate to be at any time revocable and bound by the *mandat imperatif* (formal instructions) of his constituents. . . . While the merely repressive organs of the old governmental power were to be amputated, its legitimate functions were to be wrested from an authority usurping pre-eminence over society itself, and restored to the responsible agents of society. Instead of deciding once in three or six years which member of the ruling class was to represent the people in Parliament, universal suffrage was to serve the people, constituted in Communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for the workmen and managers in his busines. And it is well known that companies, like individuals in matters of real business generally know how to put the right man in the right place, and, if they for once make a mistake, to redress it promptly . . . "

THE MIDDLE CLASSES

"This was the first revolution in which the working class was openly acknowledged as the only class capable of social initiative, even by the great bulk of the Paris middle-class—shop-keepers, tradesmen, merchants—the wealthy capitalist alone excepted. The Commune had saved them by a sagacious settlement of that ever recurring cause of dispute among the middle-class themselves—the debtor and creditor accounts. The same portion of the middle-class, after they had assisted in putting down the working men's insurrection of June, 1848, had been at once unceremoniously sacrificed to their creditors by the then Constituent Assembly. But this was not their only motive for now rallying round the working class. They felt there was but one alternative—the Commune, or the Empire, under whatever name it might reappear. The Empire had ruined them economically by the havoc it made of public wealth, by the wholesale financial swindling it fostered, by the props it lent to the artificially accelerated centralization of capital, and the concomitant expropriation of their own ranks. It has suppressed them politically, it has shocked them morally by its orgies . . . it had revolted their national feeling as Frenchmen by precipitating them headlong into a war which left only one equivalent for the ruins it made—the disappearance of the Empire. In fact, after the exodus from Paris of the high Bonapartist and capitalist *Boheme,* the true middle class Party of Order came out in the shape of the 'Union Republicaine,' enrolling themselves under the colors of the Commune and defending it against the willful misconstruction of Thiers. . . . "

> "In every revolution there intrude, at the side of its true agents, men of a different stamp; some of them survivors of and devotees to past revolutions, without insight into the present movement, but preserving popular influence by their known honesty and courage, or by the sheer force of tradition; others mere bawlers, who by dint of repeating year after year the same set of stereotyped declamations against the Government of the day, have sneaked into the reputation of revolutionists of the first water. After the 18th of March, 1871, some such men did also turn up, and in some cases contrived to play pre-eminent parts. As far as their power went, they hampered the real action of the working class, exactly as men of that sort have hampered the full development of every previous revolution. They are an unavoidable evil; with time they are shaken off. . . . "

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

"The Commune admitted all foreigners to the honor of dying for the immortal cause. Between the foreign war lost by their treason, and the civil war fomented by their conspiracy with the foreign invader, the bourgeoisie had found the time to display their patriotism by organizing police-hunts upon the Germans in France. The Commune made a German working man as its Minister of Labor. . . . The Commune honored the heroic sons of Poland by placing them at the head of the defenders of Paris. . . . "

"The civilization and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters. Then this civilization and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery and lawless revenge. Each new crisis in the class struggle between the appropriator and the producer brings out this fact more glaringly. Even the atrocities of the bourgeois in June, 1848, vanish before the ineffable infamy of 1871. The self-sacrificing heroism with which the population of Paris—men, women, and children—fought for eight days after the entrance of the Versailles Army, reflects as much the grandeur of their cause as the infernal deeds of the soldiery reflect the innate spirit of that civilization of which they are the mercenary vindicators. A glorious civilization, indeed, the great problem of which is how to get rid of the heaps of corpses it made after the battle was over!

BOURGEOIS REVENGE

"And after those horrors, look upon the other, still more hideous, face of that bourgeois civilization as described by its own press!

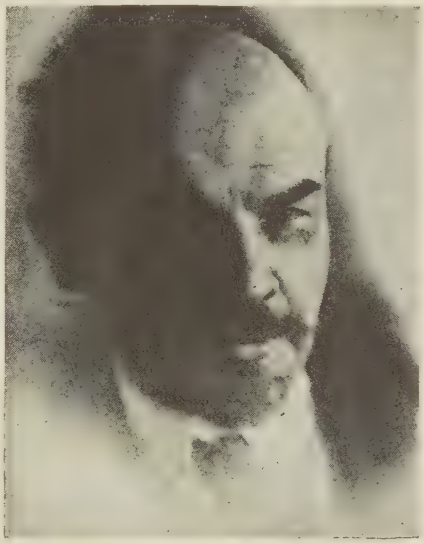
" 'With stray shots,' writes the Paris correspondent of a London Tory paper, 'still ringing in the distance, and untended wounded wretches dying amid the tombstones of Pere la Chaise—with 6,000 terror-striken insurgents wandering in an agony of despair in the labyrinth of the catacombs—and wretches hurrying through the streets to be shot down in scores by the mitrailleuse—it is revolting to see the *cafes* filled with the votaries of absinthe, billiers, and dominoes; female profligacy perambulating the boulevards, and the sound of revelry disturbing the night from the *cabinets particuliérs* of fashionable restaurants'." (From 'The Civil War in France')

ENGELS—Preface to the "Civil War in France"

"THE Paris Commune was elected on March 26 and proclaimed on the 28th, 1871. . . . On the 30th the Commune abolished conscription and the standing army, and declared that the National Guard, in which all citizens capable of bearing arms were to be enrolled, was to be the sole armed force. They released the citizens from all payments of rent for dwelling houses from October, 1870, to April (1871), taking also into account amounts already paid in advance, and stopped all sales of articles pledged in the hands of the municipal pawnshops. On the same day the foreigners elected to the Commune were confirmed in office, because 'the flag of the Commune is the flag of the World Republic.'

COMMUNE DECISIONS

"On April 1 it was decided that the highest salary received by any employee of the Commune, and therefore also by its members themselves, might not exceed 6,000 francs. On the following day, the Commune decreed the separation of the church from the state, and the abolition of all state payments for religious purposes as well as the transformation of all church property into national property. On April 8 this was followed up by a decree excluding from the schools all religious symbols, pictures, dogmas, prayers—in a word, 'all that belongs to the sphere of the individual's conscience' — and this decree was gradually applied. . . . On the 7th the guillotine was brought out by the 137th battalion of the National Guard, and publicly burnt, amid great popular rejoicing. . . . On April 16 the Commune ordered a statistical registration of factories which had been closed down by the manufacturers, and the working out of plans for the carrying on of these factories by workers formerly employed in them. . . . On the 20th the Commune abolished night work for bakers, and also the workers' registration cards, which since the Second Empire had been run as a monopoly by nominees of the police—exploiters of the first rank; the issuing of these registration cards was transferred to the mayors of the twenty districts of Paris. On April 30 the Commune ordered the closing of the pawnshops, on the ground that they were a form of individual exploitation of the worker, and stood in contradiction with the right of the workers to their instruments of labour and credit. . . . "



Excerpts from LENIN

"The experience of the Commune," Lenin declares, "teaches us, first of all, that the participation of representatives of the Socialist proletariat in a revolutionary government together with the petty-bourgeoisie in quite admissible in principle, and under certain conditions is simply imperative. It shows us, further, that the practical task which the Commune had to carry out was above all the realization of a democratic, not of a Socialist, dictatorship, the realization of our 'minimum programme.' Finally, it reminds us that in deriving lessons for ourselves from the Paris Commune, we must imitate, not its errors (they did not seize the Bank of France, they did not undertake an offensive against Versailles, they had no clear programme, etc.), but its practically successful measures, which indicate the correct path. It is not the term 'Commune' that we must borrow from the great fighters of 1871, nor must we blindly repeat every one of their slogans. What we must do is to make a careful selection of these slogans referring to their programme and practice which correspond to the condition of things in Russia and which are summed up in the words: revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry."

(Proletary, No. 8, July 17, 1905)

■

"On behalf of the Council of People's Commissars, I have to report to you on its activities for the two months and fifteen days which have passed since the establishment of Soviet power and of the Soviet government in Russia.

"Two months and fifteen days—this is only five days more than the period during which a previous workers' government was in power over a whole country, or over the exploiters and capitalists—the power of the workers of Paris in the epoch of the Paris Commune of 1871.

"Comparison of the previous and present dictatorship of the proletariat will show at once what a tremendous stride forward has been made by the international labor movement, and in what an incomparably more favourable situation is the Soviet power in Russia, in spite of the unprecedentedly complex conditions of war and devastation.

BETTER SOVIET POSITIONS

"We are in a much better position because the Russian soldiers, workers and peasants have succeeded in creating an apparatus which informed the whole world of the forms of their struggle, namely, the Soviet government. This is the primary difference between the position of the Russian workers and peasants and of the power of the Paris proletariat. They had no apparatus, the country did not understand them, but we at once based ourselves on the power of the Soviets, and hence there was never any doubt for us that the Soviet power has the sympathy and the most enthusiastic and faithful support of the overwhelming majority of the masses, and that therefore the Soviet power is invincible."

(Excerpt from the Report of the Council of People's Commissars at the Third All Russian Congress of Soviets, January 24, 1918.)

MAY DAY....an American Holiday

by MAC WEISS

THE American labor movement has made many significant contributions to the world-wide struggle of the masses for freedom. America has given the international working class many heroes, many martyrs. Men such as Tom Mooney, or Angelo Herndon have significance for the peoples of the world in a way that transcends the borders of our continent.

And the self sacrifice of the American division of the International Brigade, the Abraham Lincoln Boys, inspires the working people, the oppressed people all over the world to redoubled efforts to defeat the fascists on Spanish soil.

In the rich treasury of the movements for liberation, there is no item more precious, no gem more lustrous than the tradition of the first of May.

Let marchers pound their way through the boulevards in Paris, the streets of London, the squares of Moscow, the avenues of Madrid . . . in the measured tread of marching millions it is the echo of the titanic struggles of the American working class that we hear.

AMERICAN ORIGINS

Millions march on May Day because more than fifty years ago the American workers set that day aside in their struggle for a better life, in those turbulent days of the American labor movement's youth.

Time's erosion cannot dim the brilliance of those glorious strikes conducted by the American workers in 1886 for the establishment of the eight hour day. In 1884, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, the forerunner of the American Federation of Labor, decided to press for the abolition of the inhuman working day, which in that time ranged from ten to twelve and, in some cases, fourteen hours a day. Intensive preparations took two years, and thousands upon thousands of American workers flocked to the banner of the eight hour day movement.

Around this issue, the Knights of Labor as well as the Federation carried on a great campaign to organize the unorganized. Despite sabotage by Terence Powderly, then the leader of the Knights, the membership rolls jumped from 200,000 to 700,000, and the Federation, which was then a new trade union center, grew likewise.

Inspired by the eight hour day slogan, a stormy strike movement enveloped the American workers, involving as many as a half million at one time.

Stanzas on Freedom

Men! whose boast it is that ye
Come of fathers brave and free,
If there breathe on earth a slave
Are ye truly free and brave?

If ye do not feel the chain,
When it works a brother's pain
Are ye not base slaves indeed,
Slaves unworthy to be freed?

Women! who shall one day bear
Sons to breathe New England air,
If ye hear without a blush,
Deeds to make the roused blood rush
Like red lava through your veins
For your sisters now in chains . . .
Answer! are ye fit to be
Mothers of the brave and free?

Is true freedom but to break
Fetters for our own dear sake,
And with leathern hearts forget
That we owe mankind a debt?

No! true freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And with heart and hand to be
Earnest to make others free!

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak
They are slave who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL
(1819-1891)

While this strike movement was centered in Chicago, it also embraced New York, Baltimore, Washington, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Detroit and Cincinnati, as well as minor industrial centers.

In most places, the strikes were under united front auspices, in the name of Eight Hour Leagues, which included the Federation, the Knights, independent unions, and even the Socialist Labor Party in Chicago, the working class political organization of the time.

THE HAYMARKET AFFAIR

And practically everywhere, the eight hour day movement assumed a political character. Nowhere was this more true than in Chicago, which was the scene of a militant working class movement unparalleled elsewhere. Here, the political character of the eight hour day movement emerged in the famous Haymarket massacre.

Haymarket was a square in which a mass meeting had been scheduled to protest against the murder of four McCormick Reaper Company strikers. The protest mass meeting was attacked by the police with the prearranged connivance of several agents-provocateurs, and in the ensuing battle, four more workers were killed as well as seven of the police.

After a trial which was a mockery of justice, Parsons, Spies, Engel, and Fischer were hanged and many other leaders of the Chicago working class paid the price for this provocation by the Chicago industrialists with long terms of imprisonment. Designed to undermine the rising tempo of the struggle, this attack served only to stimulate the American workers to greater efforts. And for the workers of the world the first of May was memorialized as a noble and heroic tradition.

Following the martyrdom of the Chicago workers, the American Federation of Labor decided to re-inaugurate the struggle for the eight hour day.

May the first, 1890 was set as the

next date for the nation-wide strike to achieve that objective. Meanwhile, reverberations of this mighty movement swept across the Atlantic. At a meeting of labor and revolutionary leaders from all over the world, assembled in Paris in 1889 to commemorate the fall of the Bastille (in the French Revolution one century earlier) the American delegates electrified the assemblage with an account of their progress toward the eight hour day.

INTERNATIONAL HOLIDAY

It was this meeting which decided to adopt the first of May as an international working class holiday.

As the years passed, the political significance of Labor's holiday took on new forms. While Engel greeted this development, immediately perceiving its meaning for the whole world, the newer and younger leaders of the international working class adapted the holiday to the political circumstances of their native lands. And Lenin, then a young man in the Czarist dungeons, wrote the May first leaflet for the workers' march through St. Petersburg in 1896.

Despite the efforts of turncoats in the workers movement, and against the fears of the timorous and chicken-hearted, Labor clung to May Day as its own. Attempts were made to water it down, to emasculate it, to short-circuit it . . . by reformist leaders in the United States and elsewhere, but throughout the years, the militant labor movement everywhere carried its banner high, and maintained the traditions of the first of May intact.

AFTER THE WAR

In the United States the left-wing elements in the Socialist Party carried forward the traditions of May Day at the very height of war time frenzy and imperialist patriotism. In Cleveland, Ohio, under the leadership of Charles Ruthenberg, later to become a founder and leader of the Communist Party, 20,000 workers marched through the streets into Public Square in 1919 in defiance of the war-makers.

In Wedding, a suburb of Berlin, Germany, the revolutionary German workers were fired upon by Socialist-directed police in May, 1929, symbolizing the betrayal of the German workers by their Socialist leaders, a betrayal that paved the way for Fascism.

May Day had been abandoned by the Social-Democrats after the early years of the 20th century, and converted into a day for meaningless picnics, vegetarian outings in the parks.

But after the founding of the Communist International, and Communist Parties in various countries, May Day again came into its own in the militant tradition of those American workers who gave it to the world.

MAY DAY, TODAY

In the Soviet Union, the workers' republic, where Socialism has been built and has demonstrated a new way of life to the workers of the world, May Day assumes the character of rejoicing and holiday that only a workers' republic can allow itself.

Having achieved success in Socialist construction, having eliminated for all time the agents of fascism from within the ranks, in the persons of the Trotsky-Bukharin traitors, the people of the Soviet Republic are nevertheless aware of the grave problems which confront all progressive humanity.

May Day, 1938 is not merely a day for rejoicing in the strength of the people's progressive movement. It is primarily the day for renewed determination, renewed dedication to our ideals and the glory of our struggle.

Today we celebrate May First in a world which is on fire on two continents. As the fascist aggressor carries the torch of barbarian destruction from land to land, the fate of world peace hangs in the balance.

This May Day our demonstrations italicize the struggle for world peace through world collective quarantine of the aggressor nations. Our banners emphasize the need for unity of the AFL and the CIO against the defense of the workers' standards against the "sixty families." Our voices re-echo the demand for "democracy and still more democracy," for a democratic front of the people against its enemies.

We march in an American tradition, in the spirit of the Haymarket martyrs, for the security, peace, and democracy which the American people will not be denied.

EVENTS of the MONTH

CARL ROSS

WHILE TEACHING CLASSES ON the Youth Movement, and in discussion with many members of the League I have been asked many questions about the perspectives and tasks of the near future. Undoubtedly similar questions are being asked everywhere, and it is appropriate that they be answered in the Young Communist REVIEW.

How can the Democratic and progressive unity of young people be expressed politically in the 1938 Congressional elections?

We draw the conclusion from the recent electoral experiences in New York, Seattle, Detroit and elsewhere that labor and progressive unity is essential to defeat the candidates of reaction. When the labor movement is divided politically as was the case in Seattle, the reactionary anti-labor forces benefit. Therefore, in the Congressional elections the progressive political forces among the youth must work to guarantee labor unity; must at all times strive to direct their main fire against the reactionary, Liberty League candidates. The widest and deepest unity of progressive youth behind a single candidate for each elective office is essential to defeat the reactionaries and elect progressive candidates.

LABOR UNITY NEEDED

Such a "democratic front of the youth," such an alliance of labor, student, farm, and other progressive youth forces can be created. But of primary importance is the guarantee of minimum unity among young workers in the AFL and the CIO behind progressive candidates. Young trade unionists everywhere should be encouraged to join Labor's Non-Partisan League, and propose youth issues and platforms on which the LNPL can conduct an aggressive campaign among young people. In a number of places youth committees are being established for the purpose of rallying young people behind Labor's Non-Partisan League, a progressive development which should be encouraged.

Young trade unionists in the AFL and the CIO have already learned that they have common interests and problems and meet on equal terms in the sports fields in many localities. They can be influential in preventing William Green and the AFL Executive Council from splitting labor's ranks.

Progressive AFL youth must remain within Labor's Non-Partisan League wherever they are already part of it, and wherever the AFL is outside of the League, they should actively participate in setting up AFL Non-Partisan Committees. AFL trade unionists should support, by joint agreement or parallel activities, the same candidates as Labor's Non-Partisan League, thus achieving the political unity that is necessary to defeat reaction.

Recently large sections of the Young Democrats have taken steps to work more closely with the LNPL. This is a most promising development. Young Democratic clubs that can establish a mass membership readily where progressives are influential within the Democratic Party can serve a most useful purpose and deserve the support of all progressives.

THEN SOME COMRADES ASK to what degree the large organizations of young people can participate in this campaign in view of the fact that the American Youth Congress, their collaborating center, and the organizations themselves, cannot yet take an active part in endorsing and supporting candidates?

Some of these organizations have already considered their political activity very carefully. Their attitudes on these questions are very illuminating indeed. For they indicate precisely in what manner they intend to engage in politics, while allowing their memberships and leaders, as individuals, to become active in the political struggle against reaction.

YMCA POSITION

The YMCA Young Men's Assembly has the following to say: "The 'Y' should give special attention to the education of young voters in connection with national and local elections. The YMCA efforts will naturally be nonpartisan in so far as parties are concerned, but should be directed towards Christian objectives, like those adopted by our National Council."

In 1936, the Christian Youth Conference of North America stated:

"Believing that the individual should assume responsibility for effecting those changes . . . (passage of the Youth Act, regulation of Child Labor, Wages and Hours Legislation, public ownership and control of natural resources and industries), we would suggest the following specific activities for individual action:

"1. Become informed upon present day political issues.

"2. Take an active part in some political party, pledging ourselves to work for political action in line with Christian ideals."

This is typical of the attitude of the large youth organizations, while the American Student Union, for instance, adopted a still more outspoken position by "permitting local and regional autonomy in political action and urging endorsement and support of local candidates."

FIRST VOTERS SLOGANS

It would be highly desirable for other youth organizations and especially local groups to adopt similar positions, and to organize concrete discussion upon "present day political issues." Practical slogans might emerge from these discussions such as "Every Young Person

An Active Citizen and Registered Voter" . . . "Make Your Ballot Count By Using It Thoughtfully" . . . "Make Democracy Work For The Welfare Of The People" . . .

Those leaders and members who draw positive conclusions from such discussion will engage actively in the political struggle against reaction in support of specific candidates and parties, and the general progressive movement.

In every electoral district, and especially in the Congressional districts, in the wards and neighborhoods, committees of the active youth leaders can be organized to support and campaign for a single progressive candidate. Such independent youth committees could of course be closely associated with Labor's Non-Partisan League.

Even in the last presidential election, groups of young progressives attempted to set up youth committees of a non-partisan character to support Roosevelt. Everywhere various forms of "first voters Leagues" and "non-partisan committees" are traditional forms of political activity.

The importance of arousing greater political consciousness among the youth can hardly be overestimated. The Maryland Youth Survey indicated that only "about 50% of the first voters actually used their right to vote." Every YCL branch should play a vital role in such developments, becoming an even more important element in the growing progressive movement in America.

WHAT ABOUT THE SLOGAN "For A United Youth League"? . . . This is a frequently asked question that deserves an answer.

Since the 6th World Congress of the Youth Communist International we have been working to create a united anti-fascist youth organization, a movement described by Comrade Kuusinen in his pamphlet "Youth and Fascism" as the "youth people's front." At that time we tentatively described this organization as the "United Youth League." Since then, history has not christened this conception with a name but we can most accurately describe it as the "youth movement of the People's Front"!

We have stated that this movement would develop out of the stream of the Farmer-Labor party at a time when we thought that the People's Front forces would crystallize organizationally at a rapid tempo. Since that time the movement towards a People's Front has developed at an even more rapid and extensive pace than that we had anticipated and the perspectives are far broader for such a movement today.

WHY THE CHANGE

Precisely because of the broadening out of those forces and the immaturity of the present stage of development their organizational crystallization has not yet taken place. We must also see that the forces moving in the direction of a youth movement of the People's Front are developing to such an extent that a united youth movement has greater possibilities today and can be realized in the near future, but not yet in the form of a united organization.

When the American People's Front is established there will be many more youth ready to take part in an organization in support of that new political alignment than there are today. As we stated at our Eighth National Convention in May 1937, we do not propose the consolidation and merger of these forces now because such a merger would be limited only to the advanced sections.

Comrade Gil Green put it as follows:

"Why do we not propose an immediate merger of these organizations? Because the forces working in the direction of such a United Youth League are only in the first stages of their crystallization. Through the work for the building of an American People's Front, through the rising militant labor movement, through the extension of unity in the ranks of the youth, through these streams it will be possible to unite hundreds of thousands of young people."

To fulfill that perspective it is necessary to continue the work we have begun. It is necessary to further crystallize these forces in the whole struggle for the democratic front of the people in the coming 1938 elections. Every youth committee for progressive political action that is established, every club or organization won for support of progressive candidates, are steps in the direction of the political unity of the youth and thus of a "United Youth League."

IN THE MONTH OF MAY WE will witness the 10th Convention of the Communist Party, an event of vital significance to every one of us. The Communist Party convention, meeting in New York in the last four days of May, is significant for us because of the grave problems confronting the American people and the world at large.

We extend our greetings to the convention of 75,000 American Communists.

Every member of the YCL will follow the pre-convention discussion with keenest interest. The policies outlined by the convention are important to the youth, even as they indicate the path to victory for the whole progressive movement of which the Communist Party is the vanguard.

CONGRATULATIONS

We take this occasion to congratulate the Party on its successes in the recent Party Builders' Drive. Twenty-five thousand new members, in a period of a little over four months, that is the record of Communist Party building!

The majority of the recruits are workers, of every category, race, and nationality: but all American workers. The majority of these have families, children, friends who are anxious to learn about the Young Communist League just as they were gratified to learn about Communism.

Here is a tremendous reserve of recruits for the Young Communist League . . . a reserve which the Party and its new members will be happy to help us tap.

Let us take advantage of this period of growth to consolidate and expand our own membership in the recruiting drive now under way. Let us make our own record relatively equal to that of the Communist Party.

Greetings to the 10th Convention of the Communist Party! Forward to the Democratic Front in 1938! For Democracy, Jobs, Security and Peace! For Socialism!

MAY DAYS I HAVE

By ELL

A Veteran
Movement
Treasury
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ELLA REEVE BLOOR, known as Mother Bloor to millions of American laboring people, is now in her seventy-sixth year. As May Day approaches, the New Year's Day of the labor movement, Ella Reeve Bloor looks back upon a lifetime of rich and varied activity in the interests of the working people of the United States.

Mother Bloor has been actively involved in the trade union movement in this country for almost half a century. She was a comrade of De Leon in the old Socialist Labor Party, before the turn of the twentieth century, when that was still a militant and progressive organization. She wrote for the newspapers of the Socialist Party when Eugene Debs had just come into that Party, after his leadership of the famous Pullman strike in 1893. She was, as a woman of forty-four, mother of several children, the State Organizer of the Socialist Party in 1906, and then State Organizer in Ohio in 1911.

There are still many people in Schenectady who recall her militant leadership of the famous General Electric strike in the bitter winter of 1913.

Her anti-war activities alongside of Gene Debs, who went to prison for his opposition to the imperialist war, carried her through situations of great personal danger with the determination which is characteristic of her. When the Great Russian Revolution gave new hope and inspiration to the workers movement throughout the world, Mother Bloor was among the first to lead the departure from the Socialist to the new Communist Party.

So I thought that an interview with Mother Bloor would be particularly appropriate in the new Young Communist REVIEW for this May Day. Ella Reeve Bloor's own lifetime spans the most decisive periods of the labor movement in this country. Now a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, approaching her seventy-seventh year, she is still going strong as one of the best organizers for the People's Front and Socialism.

When she came through my town on her recent tour, I decided to ask her about May Days she had seen.

"What is the first May Day you remember, Mother Bloor?"

"It was a May Day in New York," she told me, "Some time around 1900. At that time I was in the Socialist Party. The Socialists and the trade unions had organized the parade, and it was held on the East Side. The Ladies' Garment Workers Union of New York was just building up, then, and all the union men and women marched. The Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party and a great many would join us—it was really a united front in those days.

EXAMPLES FROM THE PAST

"From that time on, we organized May Day Committees which met once a week to make plans for May Day, because we saw the importance of having a huge May Day celebration of all the workers. I think that some of the smaller towns should take an example from these methods of preparing May Day celebrations. They could really organize very large celebrations if they would get together all the progressive and trade union organizations to form a parade."

"Did you see any May Day celebrations in Europe before the war?"

"Yes, I remember one that I attended in Budapest, in 1912. The parade was under the auspices of the unions. The only political party that was there at the time was the Socialist Party—there were really no others.

"I was on the reviewing stand, and I watched the parade of fifty thousand people go by. It certainly seemed like a great crowd. Of course, now we have half a million parading in New York, but in those days I thought it was enormous.

BEFORE THE WAR

"They were demonstrating with a slogan to get a vote in Hungary—workers were protesting everywhere, because they never had the right to vote. You see, there was a property requirement to vote—and many of them, of course, were coal miners, and didn't own property.

"Every once in a while you would hear a cry: 'Give us a vote!' Finally I asked the fellow next to me what they would do with the vote. Would they use it to get their masters into Parliament? He looked at me as if I were crazy, and asked whether I thought that they were willing to die to get their vote in order to vote their masters into Parliament? Of course, the workers of Budapest were fighting to get their own representatives into Parliament, who would help the struggle on the outside."

"I remember one May Day in Connecticut, when I was State Organizer of the Socialist Party. They had had a few May Day celebrations there previously, but never out-

SEEN

REEVE BLOOR

he American Labor elves into the Rich er Experience in an usive Story

to ALMA LEE
Secretary, YCL

side. You have no idea how hard it was to get the Yankees out into the streets. They always wanted their celebrations indoors. But finally we held one out of doors, and we all thought it was a great event and a real victory. And indeed, it was a real victory.

"But nowadays the farmers are really beginning to celebrate May Day—particularly the Pennsylvania farmers. They go to the larger towns, like Philadelphia, in trucks, put on their big hats and overalls, and take part in the parades. The youth from the farms always come out like this, and they are very colorful and gay."

"How about last year?" I asked. "Where were you then?"

"I spent last May Day in Detroit," said Mother Bloor. "I was the main speaker for their celebration. They held an open air meeting. This was just after the sit-down strikes had taken place there, you know, and they had a united front of the Socialists, CIO people, and so on. Then in the evening we had a big time in one of the large halls in Detroit."

SOVIET MAY DAY

"What is the most impressive May Day that you remember, Mother Bloor?"

"The one that impressed me most? Probably the first May Day that I celebrated in the Soviet Union, in 1921, when the workers government was just really started. Five million peasant boys organized for the parade. I was sleeping in the hotel on one of the main streets in Moscow, when I heard some singing, very early in the morning. It sounded like American songs, so I jumped out of bed and ran to the front of the hotel. Outside I saw eighty Americans who were working in building a shop. They had come from Detroit, Cleveland, and many parts of the United States—most of them were Russian American skilled machinists.

"They had come to sing for us early in the morning. They told us to get ready and march down to the hall where the Soviet Chairman (that's the sort of Mayor up here) would greet us. So I got dressed and went along. We met the chairman, and he came out on the balcony and spoke. We thanked them for having such a fine Red Army that had beaten every enemy around—and he, of course, thanked us for our cooperation. Then we went back to the hotel and got ready for a tour with the street cars.

"We got started at Pushkin Prospect where they had street cars, all decorated. Each one had a brass band, and there were trucks behind with decorations, exhibitions of all kinds, physical culture demonstrations, etc. The entire city was decorated, too. Each street car had a speaker, who

(*Continued on Page* 34)

NEXT STEPS IN SPAIN

What is the Outlook for Victory in the Spanish War?

By BOB THOMPSON

Former Captain, Loyalist Army

THE FIRST objective in the Insurgent offensive in Spain has been realized. A wedge has been driven through Loyalist Spain to the Mediterranean; connections between Catalonia and the rest of Loyalist Spain have been severed.

German and Italian invading forces with the cooperation of the British Tories have dealt the most severe blow of the war, and once again the Spanish people are fighting with their backs to the wall.

HISTORICAL REVIEW

Spain has passed through two other such periods, each of which saw half-hearted friends vying with each other in predictions of the government's fall. But a brief review of the earlier periods will impel a better understanding of the present serious situation. Franco's attack on Madrid in November, 1936 was the first of these periods. The second was in February, 1937 when Franco's forces attempted to sever connections between Madrid and Valencia, and in both cases, the government averted defeat through the desperate rally of the military forces and the civilian population.

CABALLERO

Despite serious internal weaknesses caused by the vacillations of the Caballero government these earlier fascist offensives were checked. Loyalist Spain gained a breathing spell during which remarkable changes were brought about of so far reaching a nature that less than five months after Franco's second Madrid offensive the government was able to take the initiative for the first time.

The POUM inspired uprising in Barcelona in May, 1937 climaxed a series of developments which jeopardized the Republic. Caballero, rejected by the majority of his own party, was forced to give way to the Negrin cabinet.

Since Caballero, the government has followed a consistent and firm policy, embodying the main proposals of the Communist Party since the beginning of the war, some of which include: Formation of a regular Republican Army with a centralized command directly responsible to the government; freedom of anti-fascist political work with commissars as an integral part of the army. Effective conscription and systematic training of reserves. 2. The prohibition of the POUM press and the elimination of the POUM provocateurs and spies from military, economic and political posts. 3. Nationalization of the essential war industries. Elimination of confusion and sabotage and the development of a Stakhanovite movement in the rear. 4. Land and substantial government aid to the peasants. Maximum improvement in working and living conditions and extensive refugee aid. 5. Firmer unity within the working class and among the parties and trade unions in the Popular Front.

As a result, the government was able, as early as July, 1937 to launch a successful large scale offensive at Brunete, an attack which continued throughout the summer on the Aragon front.

NEW CIRCUMSTANCES

The present critical period begins with the crushing of the Asturian provinces last Fall by the increased pressure of the Italian armies. Several highly mechanized divisions of Mussolini's troops completed the fascist conquest of Bilbao, Santander, and Gijon after several months of bitter fighting against the poorly equipped Asturian miners.

In this action the French cabinet helped Franco in the guise of neutrality by withholding carloads of munitions sent by the Valencia government at the French borders. The fall of the North isolated those provinces and smashed the unity of the Loyalist army.

The elimination of the northern front gave Franco complete access to the Bay of Biscay, where he could receive direct shipments of supplies from his fascist allies without having to encroach upon the Mediterranean trade routes of other countries. Moreover, an important industrial area, in fact, the most highly industrialized apart from Catalonia, fell into Franco's hands.

The Asturian people are resigned to the Nationalist conquest, and unquestionably rearguard harassing of the fascist lines continues. But to all intents and purposes, a militant thorn in Franco's side was eliminated with the over-riding of the Asturian countryside.

The Italians were freed for use on other fronts, constituting a tremendous reserve for Franco.

GOVERNMENT OFFENSIVE

But until February of this year, these adverse factors were more than offset by the general strengthening of Spain internally. During the six month period from September to February, 1938 the Republican army doubled in size, increasing its military efficiency, which explains why the Loyalists were able to undertake the offensive on December 20th with the capture of Teruel.

These operations proved the government mettle and threatened to turn the tide of the war decisively against the fascists. German and Italian intervention now took on altogether new proportions, and regular army units were added to the already mounting military supplies. One quarter of the entire Italian standing army was operating on Spanish soil. Now the war lost every aspect of a civil conflict and became a war for the national independence of the Spanish people.

There are other factors which enter

into the success of the fascist offensive. The positions in the Quinto sector taken last Fall were new for the Loyalists and fortifications for them had not yet been developed. Moreover Aragon is not thickly populated and the fascists do not have to contend with a hostile civilian populace in their rear.

But the chief factor, dominating all others, is the extent of the Italian and German military support to Franco.

It is here that international events have such importance in any estimate of the Loyalist situation. Chamberlain as well as the entire Tory government are obviously playing Hitler's game. The recent pact with Italy signalizes a clear track for Mussolini to intensify his efforts to win in Spain as quickly as possible. Recent cabinet changes in France also offer little hope that an immediate change in French policy with relation to Spain is imminent. Denied the right to arms from the democracies, Spain can hardly withstand the fascist advance.

PRESENT PROBLEMS

At this moment there are several obvious obstacles: Loyalist Spain can receive supplies only through the seacoast towns. The ability of the Loyalist army to maneuver has been greatly impeded, and its fighting forces are divided. Great danger exists of renewed attacks upon the coastal cities. The fascists can drive along the plains toward Valencia, an area which is quite favorable to their mechanized units.

On the other hand, the circumstances favorable to the republic should be understood. Prieto, the former War minister, responsible for eliminating political commissars from the army, has himself been eliminated. The entrance of the trade unions, particularly the Anarchist unions, into the cabinet removes a source of rearguard disunity.

Furthermore, supplies *have* been coming in from France and elsewhere while the elimination of disruptive elements makes possible improved native production of war supplies. The Loyalist army is still intact, although divided, and since the brunt of the fascist drive recruits have more than replaced losses. Fascists lines have been extended and their new unfortified positions make them vulnerable to attack. Meanwhile there is evidence that the Loyalists are counter-attacking, especially on the central front, and there is the perspective of a drive across southern Spain which might cut the rebel lines in half and sever the fascists from their naval bases at Gibraltar. The lines have been constricted, permitting a greater concentration of Loyalist forces at key points.

MORALE HIGH

Above all the fighting morale of the Spanish people is unshattered. The action of the Unified Youth League, which recruited 20,000 men for the army in a ten day period indicates sources of untapped strength.

There is no evidence of panic or despair among the Spanish people. On the contrary, every sign points to intensified resistance, utilizing every ounce of the creative and defensive energies of the masses.

Spain, with all that it means to the democratic world, is not lost. But Spain cannot hold out indefinitely against invasion by two powerful fascist countries if denied help from the rest of the democratic nations. Hence the outcome of the war rests with the peace forces of the great democracies as much as it does with the Spanish people. The popular peace forces, particularly in the United States, France and Great Britain must fulfill their responsibilities by bringing pressure upon their governments to help Spain. The embargo must be lifted and the flow of war materials to Germany halted.

This is a world war. If the American people want to keep out of that war, we must help Spain defeat fascism by economic action against the aggressors.

While the Spanish people gird every loin for a death-like embrace with the invader, we in the United States must consciously avoid the spread of defeatism and despair. Clear headed discipline, with every ounce of anger and emotion channelized into more intensive work for our immediate goal. No stone must be left unturned. No effort should be spared. No Pasaran . . . is still the key slogan in this hour.

THREE AMERICAN Y C L LEADERS IN SPAIN

From Left to Right: Solly Wellman, of New York; Bob Thompson of California, and Dave Doran, of Pennsylvania . . . taken in the Spanish trenches last autumn.

MEMBERSHIP PROBLEMS

by FRED FINE

The Minnesota District Secretary of the YCL Makes Several Pertinent Suggestions for the Present Recruiting Campaign.

WE ARE engaged in a recruiting drive which aims to bring thousands of young people into our organization. Many have begun to approve the role we play, the program we pursue, and the purposeful life we offer. Many others must have these things pointed out to them, through our conversations and literature. Our improved activities among broad masses of youth, and the inspiring and instructive example of the Communist Party's recent growth, make us confident that we can win many thousands of these young people for membership in our League. But the meagre and unsatisfactory growth in the last year indicates that we must make a serious examination of the most effective methods to this end. This article wishes to emphasize that we must use every reserve force and call upon reinforcements if we are to double our membership in the immediate period.

MEMBERSHIP STANDARDS

Since the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International in 1935 we have made progress in broadening our League and changing its character.

While in most localities our organization has improved its branch life so that it is more acceptable to the average young person, that is only one part of our membership problem. The other part is understanding and applying the full meaning of the following section of the resolution adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International on the report of Wolf Michal: "The demands advanced by the leaders to the rank-and-file members, especially to new ones, both as regards work and discipline, should be adapted to the mass character of the youth organizations and should not be the same as the demands advanced to members of some sect."

Even here there have been certain advances made, but surely not enough. We have learned from other mass organizations how to make the appearance and content of our organization more popular, but still have not learned very much about their *membership standards.*

REGISTRATION FIGURES

Our experiences show that we still think that approval means readiness to enter our organization and *function as every-day-active builders of our League.* I believe a serious study of our membership reports will conclusively prove that for the most part we still have not translated into our League life the concept of membership requirements specified in the findings of our conventions and conferences.

Our 1938 registration shows a membership of 15,000, or a net gain of several thousands in 1937. We charge up the difference between our net gain and the much larger figure of 1937 recruits to "turnover." We generally explain this fluctuation by pointing to the dull and drab life of our branches, to the lack of education and to other features in which we have been making certain small but important improvements. But is that a completely satisfactory answer? Can we let it go at that? Do branch, county or state officers estimate their membership as those ENROLLED or the average attendance at meetings, with a few thrown in for good measure?

OTHER YOUTH GROUPS

The League in contra-distinction to any other mass youth organization recognizes for the most part only membership in "active service." The others find no place in our membership policy, and we drop them from our rolls in disturbingly large numbers without much thought. If we understood the problems of this portion of our enrolled members and met them properly, they would be our reserves instead of our "turnover."

The average youth organization make their membership requirements as simple as possible. Dues (except for most trade unions and fraternal orders) are either on a quarterly, semi-annual, or in most cases, annual basis. In the Y's, in community centers, in most youth mass organizations, even regular and frequent attendance at meetings is not the sole criterion of judging membership. They have several categories of membership (club, enrolled and dues-paid, constituencies, those that use facilities, etc.)

CONCRETE EXAMPLES

Let us take a concrete example, the YCL in St. Paul, Minnesota. Investigation shows that 83 membership books have been issued in 1937. The present *claimed* enrolled membership is 43. Nine have been accounted for as having entered the Communist Party. Several others have been transferred. Two resigned for reasons that I shan't discuss here. But there are a score of others that are not satisfactorily explained or claimed.

Doubtlessly many of these, though not paying dues and not attending meetings, consider themselves members of the YCL. Surely we cannot accept the characterization of those twenty multiplied by hundreds of branches over the country as "undesirables" or "bad" or "impossible elements."

Or take our state organization: At

our Convention in late October our branches claimed 150 members. Since the convention there have been 135 members recruited in five months. Still our claimed membership today is about 210 members as reported at our last state council meeting by branch officers, instead of the 285 members we should be able to report. What has happened to 75 young people who have disappeared from our organization in five short months! If this is true in other state YCL organizations, obviously one of the problems confronting us in building a mass organization is a revaluation of our conception of membership.

REASONS FOR PROBLEM

Study of our St. Paul membership revealed that there are a host of reasons that account for continued non-attendance and inactivity. They include night-work, busy schedules, lack of carfare, family responsibilities, and failure to see why they must do anything else to signify their sympathy or agreement with our organization, other than paying their initiation fees for a membership book. Some fail to attend immediately upon filling out application cards. Others, after coming to meetings and being given or asked to accept numerous assignments, just decide to continue being YCL members but absent themselves from meetings, unwilling to answer in the negative to the numerous appeals for activity.

At this point some may think that a case is being built up to legalize inactivity and paper membership. But that is not the intention.

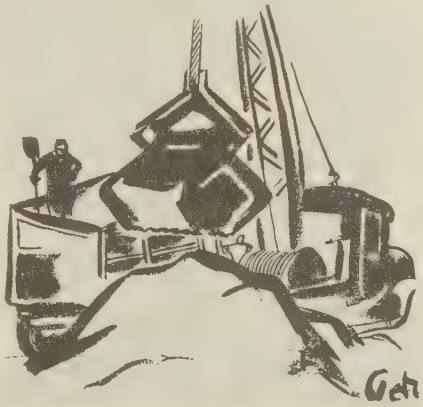
STACHEL'S ADVICE

Comrade Jack Stachel, reporting the Communist Party Builder's Congress, declared: "A comrade the other day told me of the methods used by Sears Roebuck and Company in promoting sales. They work their system so that once they get a lead, whether you buy or don't buy, they never take you off their books; they keep after you until they actually know that you are physically dead. Then they take you off their list. The comrade discussed the problem with me, whether it would not be possible to apply this lesson of salesmanship to our own Party work. . . . How is it that the very same comrades who will stop at nothing, who will if necessary travel for miles to visit a contact, take the position that once the recruit is in the Party, well, that settles that. We put in no effort to retain the one we brought in. We lost track of him. We don't follow him up. I suppose that is because we have the habit of thinking that once a member is in the Party he is an old member, and old members have to look out for themselves. . . . Let's determine to establish the kind of organization, yes, like Sears Roebuck; keep them on the lists, go after them, find out what they are doing, and I am sure this will result in a stronger, healthier, and more stable Party."

YCL SUGGESTIONS

The following suggestions do not only recognize the problem, but aim to help solve it: 1. Improve branch life. 2. "The demands on the individual members of the organization, and particularly on new members, should correspond to the mass character of the youth organization," Gil Green, "United We Stand."

3. Do not drop members from rolls for non-attendance, severing all connection with them, until they move from the community or pass the age of eligibility for YCL membership. 4. Branches shall have functioning membership committees, who shall visit non-attending members once a month. Collect his dues at home if he is behind in his payment. Give him a five or ten cent bundle of literature free to be covered by his branch dues. 5. Mail to his home each issue of the State or Branch YCL bulletin. 6. Notify him of classes, entertainments, forums, mass meetings, hikes, etc. throughout the year. 7. Have semi-annual registration, prepared in advance and continued until every person on roll is accounted for. 8. Always treat an enrolled member as a full fledged member. Don't make new members who don't immediately enter into intensive activities feel like scoundrels. Don't nag, drive and push—don't be impatient.



In this way, many members will find their place as participants in our studies and activities. Very soon others will be a reserve from which our future active members and leaders will be drawn. As we help them solve their problems, as they learn more about the League and its teachings, and as our League makes itself more popular, they will enter naturally into active participation in our League life.

In the current membership drive we must rediscover those who have enrolled in our organization in the last few years and dropped out, and re-enroll them. Cleveland, I understand, owes its consistent growth over the last year to proper work along these lines.

HELP FROM THE PARTY

The Communist Party, with its 75,000 members, stands ready to help us build the YCL. The fact that results in previous drives have not been very impressive is not due to absence of Party resolutions pledging support to the League, but to the absence of realistic suggestions on our part as to what should concretely be done.

We anticipate fruitful results in Minnesota from recent decisions made by the Communist Party State committee. These decisions include:

1. The appointment of a State Buro member of the Party who is also State Secretary of the YCL, *as C.P. youth director*. This will make the directives and speeches of this comrade to the Party lower organs carry Party authority.

2. In the wards of the large cities and in the smaller cities and rural communities where no YCL exists, the Party branches are electing *Party* youth committees made up of young party

people under 25 years of age. The tasks of these committees will be to help establish Junior Farmer Labor clubs, help build county councils of the Minnesota Youth Assembly and build YCL BRANCHES. The importance of this is readily seen when you read the results of the Party annual registration which showed that *the Party branches in Minnesota had a membership of young people under twenty-five equal to the total state YCL membership.*

3. Youth committees in Party shop and industrial units to help develop sport and educational activities in the trade unions. To build a YCL in industry.

4. Party branches in concentration towns and wards will hold special youth nights with YCL speakers, refreshments and membership appeals, inviting young people to join the YCL. This to be done mainly where YCL branches do not exist, and to be organized by the Party youth committees.

5. The Party State Committee has subscribed the entire Party youth membership to the "Pace-Setter," State YCL Organ, to be mailed directly to the homes.

6. Plans are being made to hold Party youth membership meetings to discuss the problems of building the progressive youth movement and the YCL in the cities and rural counties.

7. The Party will order a bundle of the Young Communist REVIEW monthly.

NEW APPROACH

We must approach the problem of building the YCL with the same determination, ingenuity and flexibility, rooting ourselves in the American and democratic traditions, as we have done in building the united front of youth.

It seems to me that if every district were to make a re-examination of its membership in this fashion, new light would be thrown on some of the problems of our recruiting drive.

Our job is not merely to get new members, to expand our rolls. Nor can we say we must learn to activise our old members and let it go at that.

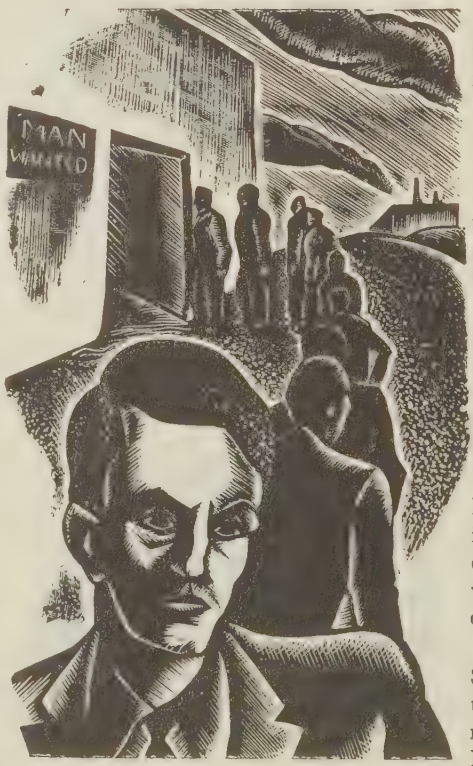
A change is necessary in our conception of what constitutes membership in the Young Communist League, a change which can be made simultaneously with the progress of the recruiting drive. We must examine the experiences and methods of the larger youth organizations, who number their memberships in the millions, and adopt suitable lessons of this examination to our work in the YCL.

NEW PAMPHLET

In connection with the present recruiting drive, the National Literature Department of the Young Communist League announces the publication of a new pamphlet, off the press by the first week in May.

"Looking Forward" is the name . . . and the author is Carl Ross, the National Executive Secretary of the League.

Attractively printed, in 24 pages, selling for 3¢ per copy, here is a stirring statement of the principles of our movement . . . and an invitation to every young American to join our ranks. Special discounts will be made available to all YCL districts, who should respond with orders immediately.



WORKERS SCHOOL SUMMER COURSE

A RARE opportunity for young men and women to obtain a solid foundation of Marxist theory in a short period is offered through a full-time summer day course to be held in New York from July 5th to August 12th, under the auspices of the New York Workers School. This summer school, an innovation in Marxist education, will bring together people from every section of the country, and will be staffed by instructors of outstanding ability and long experience.

THOROUGH STUDY

By careful selection of materials and by intensive study under the most favorable conditions, students can obtain in this summer school a thorough grounding in Marxism. Here is an opportunity which should be especially welcomed by busy functionaries, workers, professionals, since it will enable them to cover the subject matter ordinarily involved in far more extensive courses.

In order to give students the advantages of work in a small group, no more than forty people will be admitted to the summer day school.

SCHEDULES

Classes in this six-weeks school will be held four days a week, Monday through Thursday, with class hours from 9 a. m. to 1 p. m. This includes two two-hour classes per day. Brief sessions on Friday will include lectures by prominent authorities on topics of current interest, and a weekly analysis of news events. A number of special trips are scheduled for week-ends.

The curriculum will be: Political Economy, Marxism-Leninism, American History. For more advanced students, a seminar in Marx's "Capital" will be arranged instead of the more elementary Political Economy course.

The tuition for the entire course is $25. All inquiries should be addressed to Elizabeth Lawson, Director, Summer Day School, 35 East 12th Street, New York City.

THE SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONFERENCE

The Most Significant Youth Movement Below the Mason-Dixon Line Offers New Hope to Negro and White People Alike

by HENRY WINSTON

APRIL 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 1938 were historic days for Chattanooga and the entire South. The Second All-Southern Negro Youth Congress convened on these days, to review the work of the past year and to formulate plans for the future.

Not far away from the scenes of the Conference sessions lay the battlefields of Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, and Chickamauga, where three of the most decisive battles of the Civil War were fought.

Chattanooga itself belongs to that mountain section of the South upon which the hated institution of slavery never fastened itself as in the swamps and plains of the coastland and the Mississippi. Here for the most part have dwelt free and independent farmers who during slave days were extremely hostile to the slave owning planters in the lowlands.

This wedge of territory driven into the heart of slavery, just as much a part of the South as the swamps and plains, was the stronghold of Jacksonian democracy. During the Civil War, East Tennessee continued the tradition of Jacksonian democracy by setting up its own separate government in support of the Union. Large numbers of these East-Tennesseans (scalawags) fought in the Union army against the slave holding Confederacy.

This Jacksonian "Scalawag" tradition of rugged frontier democracy still lives in East Tennessee. Only two miles from the Georgia line, Chattanooga still forms a progressive wedge in the heart of the South.

PROGRESSIVE CHANGES

Today, the T.V.A. Project for flood-control, navigation-control, soil conservation, reforestation, cheap electricity and fertilizer production, human welfare control through planned agriculture, formation of modern communities, etc. is giving new strength to the democratic tradition of the Tennessee Valley.

This democratic tradition was felt throughout the sessions of the Southern Negro Youth Conference in the form of wide-spread sympathy and support from white groups. The holding of the Conference itself will undoubtedly be of great importance in strengthening this progressive movement and in demonstrating to the Southern white people the earnest character of the Negro youth movement, which is working out a program in the interests of *all* the Southern people.

CONFERENCE COMPOSITION

There were four hundred delegates at the conference representing 383,000 organized youth. These young people come from every important Negro organization, in every walk of life. A list of the organizations comprise:

Church or religious	53	Political	10
Student	92	Social	8
Civil	44	Athletic	3
YWCA	31	Recreation	6
YMCA	17	Fraternal	6
Fraternities	3	Boy Scouts	1
Trade Union	16	Sororities	5
Inter-racial	4	Social Welfare	18
		Farming	1

and a number of other miscellaneous groups.

It was in reality a Negro people's Congress, expressing the economic, social and cultural desires not alone of the Negro youth, but of the entire Southern people. Of special significance was the fact that this conference was able to attract large sections of the liberal and progressive white youth, who participated actively in its work.

Why did the Negro youth come to this conference? This can best be expressed by the statement made by the Executive Secretary of the Congress, Mr. Edward E. Strong:

"We came to organize the Negro youth in the struggle for the right to vote. To win this right is uppermost in the thinking of every Southern Negro young person. The Chattanooga Conference was organized to crystallize the passionate desire to vote among the Negro people, to organize the fight to participate in the democratic primaries. The Southern Negro Youth Congress proposes to throw its full force behind the fight for the recognition of the manhood rights of the Negro people to vote."

In preparation for the Congress, a mass movement grew up, embracing the schools, churches, social and fraternal organizations, that swept through the entire city. Pre-convention discussions involved thousands of youth and adults from all walks of life.

NEWSPAPER SUPPORT

There were eight panels outlined for the Congress. Individual schools took over separate panels for discussion, involving their whole student bodies. The *Chattanooga Times* gave full support to the conference, editorially and with front page news. At the conference itself, an historic gavel was presented by the Chamber of Commerce. The Mayor of the city greeted the delegates with the following words:

"We have a common interest. It is refreshing to see young people taking interest in affairs of government. You must do your own thinking. The door of the city is open to you."

On the eve of the Conference, Commissioner Cooke announced the allot-

ment by the P.W.A. of $20,000 for a new Negro recreational center.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The delegates limited themselves to the practical and immediate problems facing the young people, and in this lies the significance of this young movement already embracing thousands. The topics discussed were:

1. Marriage and home life.
2. Religion.
3. Culture, Youth's common heritage
4. Job security.
5. Rural youth.
6. Citizenship.
7. A program for Negro education.
8. Health.

It was around such practical questions that the young people discussed and worked out a comprehensive program. Citizenship was the theme which ran through all of the discussions because it is upon the solution of this problem that further progress of the Negro people depends. The conference took place at a time when powerful progressive currents are being stimulated in the South, and when the one party system, which rules this territory, is being shattered. The progressive trend can be expressed in a small way by the fact that the State Council of the C.I.O. of Alabama has gone on record for the abolition of the Poll Tax, and is supporting progressive candidates that are running on such a platform. The Colored Teachers Association, in Alabama, in session two weeks ago, voted to conduct a campaign, for the first time, for the right to vote and to participate in the democratic primaries, allotting some $759 to initiate the campaign. And so it is with civic groups among the Negro people, as well as similar organizations among the white, who are also disfranchised because of the Poll Tax. In practically all Southern states, similar steps are being taken among the progressives, crystallizing a mass movement against the present order of things.

At the same time, within the Democratic Party itself, progressive forces are moving in this direction. Independent groups are being formed for the right to vote, and for the abolition of the Poll Tax.

Recognizing this trend, the summation of the discussion on the panels on citizenship states the following:

"We hail with the highest hopes the symptoms of dissolution appearing in the structure of the once solid South. Southern Democrats from Oklahoma and Missouri and one from Texas voted for the Wagner-Van Nuys Anti-Lynch Bill, Labor and New Deal Democrats in Virginia and Alabama fight now for the abolition of poll tax in their states. We hail this development. We counsel our people to welcome with extended hand the new progressive trends among Southern white people, for we know and we would have them know, that ours is no separate battle."

But the young delegates knew that this change would not come about automatically. It was necessary to organize: to throw the forces of the Congress behind a definite, concrete program. It is for this reason that the delegates worked out some practical conclusions after their deliberations, endorsed by the conference, which follow:

CONGRESS PROGRAM

1. To organize Institutes for Citizenship in every community, based on the existing people's organizations, for the purpose of studying and mastering the present election laws and jury-service regulations, as well as the basic constitutional guarantees. To make use of every favorable condition, for the broadest education of eligible voters and the ability to challenge and defeat infractions of the laws.

2. To organize poll-tax paying clubs and registration centers in every community and to help defeat poll-tax disfranchisement and corruption.

3. a) To ally the forces of the youth program with the whole progressive movement and especially labor, which would enable Negro youth to make full use of every friendly element among the progressives in order to be able to gain real popular participation in conventions and primaries of these groups; to be in a better position to fight for these rights.

b) to help formulate a program for labor and its allies which will bring forward the desires of the Negro people together with the whole Southern population.

c) to assist in the organization of Right-to-Vote clubs in communities where possible.

Specific measures endorsed by the conference were: 1. The Wagner-Van Nuys Anti-Lynching Bill. 2. The Wages and Hours Bill with provisions against differentials in wages between the North and South and between Negro and White. 3. Passage of legislation to provide useful work for all citizens at trade union wages, as proposed by the Workers Alliance. 4. Schwellenbach-Allen Bill for relief of the unemployed. 5. American Youth Act for extension of the NYA appropriation. 6. Amendment to the Jones Tenancy Bill, incorporating the proposals of the Boileau Bill:

a. to increase the appropriations.

b. to democratize its administration through the election of administrative committees by tenants and sharecroppers through which all land purchases should be made by themselves.

c. to provide equitable distribution of land among both Negro and White tenants with preference for those in greatest need.

d. to lengthen terms of re-payment to fifty years and to reduce the rate of interest to 1½%.

In addition to the above, the Congress endorsed the Harrison-Fletcher-Black Bill for federal aid to education as amended to incorporate the proposals of the recent Report of the President's Committee on Education, and went on record for the abolition of all restrictions on voting, such as poll taxes, accumulated poll taxes, property qualifications, etc., as well as the right to participate in the democratic primaries in the South.

ADULT PARTICIPATION

In all of the other panels practical conclusions were drawn up which form the program of action for the next year. These young delegates discussed questions which concerned the problems of the whole South, including both young and old people. As a result, it was able to attract greater adult participation in its work. The Negro Youth Movement in the South occupies a position

HENRY WINSTON, *the National Administrative Secretary of the Young Communist League, at a recent branch meeting.*

in which it can inspire the unity of the whole Southern people, around a progressive program. The desire for unity of Negro and White was on the lips of all delegates.

The conference extended a warm hand of friendship to all groups which have as their purpose inter-racial fellowship and understanding, and it suggested that this basis of fellowship be broader than the discussion of race, and that it include such activities as hikes, debates, community sings, and recreational and religious institutes to promote better inter-racial understanding as well as greater participation in the work of the Congress. To the extent that the work of the Congress develops, it will gain wider and wider support among large sections of white youth, who are moving in the direction of progressive action.

Of prime importance is the extension of the labor base in the Congress. In this connection there was considerable advance over last year, drawing in the powerful State Council of the CIO in Alabama, including the UMWA and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee with some 35,000 members, the Tobacco Workers of Virginia, Hod Carriers and Barbers of Tennessee.

To help extend the labor base as well as to stimulate working class leadership is a central task before the progressive movement. Through proper work it will be possible to build the Party alongside of this movement. This will in turn help to raise its ideological level.

PERSPECTIVE AND PLANS

Here we have a mass movement based on the special problems of the Negro people in the South, the development of the Democratic front which has within it the possibilities of uniting the entire Negro population. It is for this reason that labor and progressives and especially the Communist Party, must give full support to this movement to enable it to grow into an organization of millions, uniting Negro and white in the achievement of the program worked out.

WHITE YOUTH

The Southern Negro Youth Conference can be an important movement, not only among the Negro youth of the South, but among the white young people as well.

The special problems of the white young people ought to be examined and help granted to the organization of groups of white young people around their immediate problems.

Because the white young people in the south have the same problems of job insecurity, discrimination at the polls, and inadequate educational facilities which they cannot solve without organization.

While this is true everywhere below the Mason-Dixon line, it is of especial meaning among the rural population, among the backwoods farmers, and the white sharecroppers.

The Communist Party must become an integrated part of this movement, helping to guide it into such channels as will ensure further growth. The Party must utilize its influence to help broaden the movement among adults by winning their cooperation and support for its program, extending the fight along all fronts.

The Young Communist League greets the Southern Negro Youth Congress, as one of the brightest spots in Southern history of recent times. The further development of the movement, fighting for the democratic rights of the Negro people, will in turn advance the interest of the entire South. We wish it success and pledge our full support.

Let preparations go forward for the Third Southern Negro Youth Conference to fulfill the promise and program of the second.

THUMBNAIL REVIEWS

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA, *by Gil Green. Workers Library Publishers.* $.05

Here is a pamphlet whose instantaneous success prompts us to review it in these columns. To date, some 30,000 copies have been sold throughout the United States, a figure which reveals Gil Green's authority on the Soviet Union.

This same figure reveals, moreover, the keen interest that exists in the Soviet Republic, an interest which is stimulated not only by the sensationalism of the capitalist press but primarily because deep down in every one's consciousness there lies the understanding that the Soviet Union is the *first* workers republic. Its problems and its victories are shared by the people of the whole world whether under the fascist yoke or at the mercy of capitalist crisis and misery.

The pamphlet sets out to answer several problems which arise in the minds of many people, especially in the light of recent events in the Soviet Republic. These questions reflect prevalent misunderstandings about the Soviet Union fostered by a press campaign which increases its intensity and misrepresentation in proportion to the victories of Soviet economy and the difficulties of the capital world.

Gil Green takes each question very soberly, very coolly, developing his answers at considerable length in a human and confident tone that sets a high water mark for American Communist pamphleteering. Such problems as free speech in the Soviet Union; why there is only one party; the lessons of the recent purge; the way spies go about their work . . . "is Stalin a dictator" are handled with the authority of a person who has visited and studied in the Soviet Republic for many years, and is now one of the four secretaries of the Young Communist International.

All in considerable detail, elaborating the significance and inferences of each question as amply as forty eight pages will allow.

And the author concludes:

"Thomas Paine, one of the greatest figures in the American Revolution and American history estimating the international significance of the American struggle of 1776, spoke the following words:

From a small spark kindled in America, a flame has arisen not to be extinguished.

Tom Paine was correct. From the small spark a great liberating flame spread throughout the world, the flame of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Today we can paraphrase Tom Paine. We can say: 'From a small spark kindled in old Russia, a flame has arisen not to be extinguished'—the flame of victorious socialism. We can say this with even more right than Tom Paine because the Russian Revolution ushered in a new day for humanity, showing the way to end class oppression and exploitation forever. . . .

The Soviet Union represents the bright hope and glorious future of mankind!"

J. S.

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THE PRODIGAL PARENTS, *by Sinclair Lewis. Doubleday, Doran.* $2.50.

It is very disappointing not to find in Mr. Lewis's latest book certain things which he has led us to expect: a clear-headed report of a section of American life: real, live people, whom you might meet in a drug store or sit next to in a street car; and speech written the way the man in the drug store would talk.

The Prodigal Parents, reversing the old theme of the younger generation's struggle to escape the dominance of the older, tells the story of a father who tries to free himself from his children, and, as the saying goes, "to find himself."

Now, that is all well and good. Mr. Lewis might have done something interesting with that idea. But he hasn't. The dialogue is only adequate, and it is less inventive than reminiscent of Mr. Lewis's previous books. The characterization is highly uninteresting. Fred Cornplow, the bewildered father, is the same middle-class, middle-aged man that Mr. Lewis has more successfully drawn elsewhere. His wife is a type—not a person. His two spoiled children, Sara and Howard, are only dimly glimpsed through the morass of Americanism in which Mr. Lewis has enmeshed them. The rich girl who marries Howard is strictly a women's magazine character. And Gene Silga, the Communist, for sheer untruthful reporting and incredibility, is in a class by himself.

Silga interests Howard and Sara in Communism, scorns the middle-class hand, Mr. Cornplow's, which feeds him, and spurns Sara for a serious radical girl who never laughs and wears stiff corduroy suits and flat low shoes. He is a thief, and a cynical liar, who regards the movement as less important than the gratification of his pride, and urges the workers "to buy rifles, to form classes in marksmanship, to study Georges Sorel." When a character of this type comes from the pen of a writer as astute as Mr. Lewis, it must be regarded as deliberate misrepresentation.

When Silga leaves, Mr. Sinclair seems to lose interest.. Sara, disillusioned with the whole radical movement, turns to interior decoration, and ultimately to marriage. Cornplow and his wife run off to the Riviera to get away from the children, and Howard immediately goes to the dogs. Mr. Cornplow, indulgent parent that he is, jumps the next boat home, weans Howard from the bottle in seven pages,

and in two pages makes a New Man out of him in the wilds of Canada.

What has come over Mr. Lewis, to change him from a significant novelist to an extremely dull one? The answer seems to lie in Mr. Lewis's discovery that a lot of things are going on which he is unable to cope with, either unable, or unwilling. Things like Labor, Unemployment, Communism.

Mr. Lewis is, at least, honest enough to admit that these things exist. Having admitted this, he seems to have only one thing in view, to prove that they are unimportant, insignificant, overestimated. He has used his novel to set up little images of these boogey men, in order to knock them down.

For example, he describes Comrade Silga as a rattlesnake, permits Cornplow, in a few homely phrases, to demolish him, and has him leave precipitately at the sound of policemen's feet outside. Of course, the Cornplow youth, and presumably the whole younger generation, is finished with Communism.

Mr. Cornplow's indigent, shiftless family attempts to sponge on him, with some success because Mr. Cornplow is a softie. But when he begins to think, he kicks them out. One of them goes to work, the other to the dogs, thereby clearing up the unemployment situation.

Mr. Cornplow has always treated his workers well, and they love him. Evidently, Labor is no problem.

So everything is all right. Particularly Mr. Cornplow. As Mr. Lewis says, "Who in the world has ever been more important than Fred Cornplow? . . . He has been the eternal doer; equally depended upon, and equally hated—by the savage mob and by the insolent nobility. . . . He is the eternal bourgeois. . . . the Middle Class, whom the Bolsheviks hate and imitate, whom the English love and deprecate, and who is most of the population worth considering in France and Germany and these United States." And also, we might add, Mr. Lewis' adoring public.

RUTH LESLIE

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PHOTO-HISTORY: China Reborn, *a pictorial quarterly*. $.25.

At one of the modern academies in Nanking I studied the history of China in the original Chinese text. Its innumerable warriors and scholars and all their wise thoughts impressed me very little, and all I can recall is the dominating moral that I ought to respect and revere them.

China Reborn as told in the current issue of Photo-History is an English text of the same story. But it has been brought to life by a bold and clear treatment of the development of the Chinese people.

The Western world, while unscrupulously exploiting the very real Chinese people and their very real material resources has always attempted to shroud its thievery with an atmosphere of "mystery" and "enigma" about the Orient.

Photo-History cuts itself loose from this nonsense and proposes to tell the story of China, in essence, the story of the "peasants and the common folk against adverse natural and social conditions."

In spite of its physical limitations, Photo-History does a very comprehensive job. The inner forces in China's conflict and her struggle against the outer world emerge in graphic detail and dramatic language.

There is however, room for criticism.

I believe that Photo-History might have given a deeper insight into the "Revolt on the Land" as well as the "New China" which the Nationalist Government undertook to build after its betrayal of the 1925-27 revolution.

Upon a correct understanding of the land revolt and the Nationalist-Communist struggle depends a proper perspective of the present events and a glimpse of China's future tasks.

Photo-History tends to obscure these problems, allowing for no clear definition of the elements and the dimensions of the basic inner conflicts in China.

Certainly no one will deny that the betrayal of the Chinese revolution in 1925-27 by the Chiang Kai-shek government under the tutelage of foreign imperialism is a matter of historical record. And the 10 year struggle of the Chinese Communist Party, and the millions of peasants and workers who follow its leadership, must be epitomized by more than a portrayal of the famous trek of the Red Army in 1934-35.

But at this moment when Japanese fascism marches upon the Chinese land, attempting conquest and subjugation, it is well that such a popular historical pictorial offers the American public an understanding of the forces at work.

PETER HYUN

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THE AGNES SMEDLEY BRANCH of the League in San Diego, California has been sending us copies of their publication, New Horizons. A modest, six page, mimeographed affair, it nevertheless attests to a vigorous branch life out in California, exemplifying what we need elsewhere.

Branches and districts of the YCL are invited to send their publications to the Young Communist REVIEW, care of the National Office.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF THE League include an attractive booklet announcing the third annual convention of the YCL in Wisconsin. Replete with photos revealing all phases of the League activities, this booklet includes greetings from the State and National leaders of the League and the Party.

We confess however one flaw which deserves mention. Nowhere could we find either the date of publication nor the date of the third annual convention of the League in its pages.

A hundred years from now, in the historical museums of the World Socialist Commonwealth, how will our comrades be able to tell exactly when the Wisconsin District of the YCL held its historic convention?

Clippings of the Day

Fascist Fantasy

Senator John J. McNaboe, guest of honor at a meeting of the Nassau County Legion, New York, claimed to have been "reliably informed" of a plot by which "Six Communists are being designated to each police officer, and their duty, at a given signal, is to wipe out the 18,000 policemen in the city."

Senator McNaboe is the author of the bill, vetoed by Governor Lehman, which provided that any person encouraging in any way the overthrow of the government, would be ineligible to hold public office.

While Party members may be pleasantly surprised by the Senator's information that there are 108,000 enrolled Communists in New York City, the following unofficial comments came from New York policemen:

"He's all wet and so is his legislation. Governor Lehman told him off the other day."

"The Senator has been living on a diet of Grade A baloney."

"The Senator forgot about retired cops. Do they get only four Communists?"

"I hope I get six little ones. The big ones will probably gang up on the inspectors."

"The Senator wakes up in the morning and sees six little pink Communists dancing on the foot of his bed."

"Nuts."

Sabotage

Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, in their widely syndicated column, Washington Merry-Go-Round, recently reported the sensational expose of reactionary efforts within the U. S. State Department to sabotage the President's peace efforts.

It seems that President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull and powerful Congressional leaders decided that the arms embargo upon Republican Spain was a grave mistake, nothing more than helpful to Hitler and Mussolini.

Breckenridge Long, the former ambassador to Italy, informed the President that it was within his power to lift the embargo by proclamation without revision of the Neutrality Acts. The President suggested that Long approach the Secretary of State.

When Long arrived at Mr. Hull's office he found that the Secretary had just signed a letter to the chairman of the Foreign Policy Association explaining that the embargo could not be lifted. This letter was made public the same afternoon that the President himself telephoned Hull to arrange for his discussion with Long regarding the embargo.

Hull remarked that "it was just a letter which Hackworth gave me to sign," inferring that he had not examined it himself over-carefully. Hackworth is the legal adviser of the State Department. Hull shifted Long around to several underlings in the State Department most of whom are known as avowed Franco sympathizers. Finally, after Long's insistence, Hull asked him to supply the Department with a memorandum, showing recent changes in the Spanish situation that might warrant lifting the embargo.

Several days later the Spanish ambassador himself supplied Secretary Hull with a detailed note showing the extent of fascist invasion in Spain.

When Long returned the next day, he found that Hull had not even seen the note. One of the career men in the State Department had taken the note for translation and conveniently neglected to show it to Mr. Hull.

In this way the reactionary clique at the State Department has been exposed as operating even against the desires of the President of the Nation, running circles around the Secretary of State, in pursuance of their pro-fascist policies. Observe how a handful of fascist-minded men nullify the wishes of the majority of the American people.

INVITATION

Readers of the REVIEW are invited to clip interesting items from the news of the day and send them to the Editorial Board of the magazine. Clip anything you think will have general interest for the membership of the YCL, of a scientific or political character, from the newspapers, magazines and publications that you follow. Humorous bits will be particularly appreciated.

Millionaires

The report of the U. S. Treasury Department, based on tax returns received up to the end of last August, lists sixty-one individuals in the United States who admitted taxable net incomes of $1,000,000 or more in 1936. This is an increase over 1935, when only 41 millionaires were listed.

The reported taxable net incomes of these sixty-one total over $107,000,000. Thirty-three of these economic royalists reported incomes ranging from $1,000,000 to $1,500,000; nine had incomes of from $1,500,000 to $2,000,000; fourteen had incomes of from $2,000,000 to $3,000,000; four reported incomes of from $3,000,000 to $4,000,000, and one had an annual in-

come between $4,000,000 and $5,000,000.

It must be borne in mind that these reports are made after every conceivable deduction that high-priced attorneys can devise. Nor do they include income from tax-exempt securities.

A study of the report shows that 18,196 of the richest persons reporting taxable net income had total net income for the year of $1,875,783,000. Compare this figure to the total earnings of $1,848,635,000 received in 1936 by all the 1,065,624 Class I railroad workers in the United States, including railroad presidents.

April, Economic Notes
Labor Research Association

Methuselah

An interesting experiment was described at the annual meeting of the American Institute of Nutrition. Through scientific control of the rate of growth in early life, white rats have been kept alive and still growing at an age corresponding to 107 years in the life of man. If these experiments should hold true in all realms of animal life, it will mean that the life span could be increased by a hundred percent.

At Cornell University Drs. McCay, Maynard and Sperling divided 106 rats at the time of weaning into five groups. Two groups, containing a total of thirty-three animals, were fed on an adequate diet, with enough calories to permit normal growth. The remainder were fed the same allowance of the basal diet without the additional calories, and were thus retarded in growth.

After 300 days, corresponding to thirty years in man's life, one fourth of the retarded animals were allowed to mature. At 500, 700 and 1,000 days other fractions of the retarded animals were allowed to mature. They were all able to grow, and the retarded rats maintained a much younger appearance. At the age of 1,068 days, equivalent to an age of 107 in man, twelve percent of the retarded animals were still alive.

The experiments provide a technique for retaining youth. They provide evidence that the rate of attaining maturity is an important factor in predetermining the span of life. And they show that the life span, rather than being fixed by heredity, is flexible, and can be increased by science.

New York Times, March 31, 1938.

Arsenic

World consumption of arsenic for peaceful purposes has been 12,000 tons a year for the last twenty years. This arsenic came from a number of different mines.

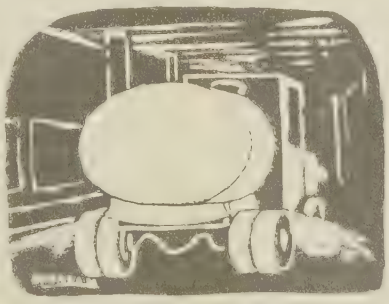
But recently rich, new deposits of arsenic have been discovered in Sweden. These deposits yield 50,000 tons a year. At first there was no demand for this new output, but in 1934 Germany made a secret agreement with the mine owners to acquire both the reserve stock of 100,000 tons, and the future annual production of 50,000.

Since the annual 12,000 tons of arsenic used for peaceful ends can be amply supplied from other sources, the Swedish arsenic purchased by Germany can be used in only one way. From the annual 50,000 tons of ore can be made 139,000 tons of adamsite, the newest and most deadly of poison gases, against which present gas-masks offer absolutely no protection. This is the way Hitler prepares for "peace."

Heinz Liepmann, Ken,
April 1st, 1938.

Slaughterhouse

In the five years since Hitler came to power in Germany, the Nazis have dismissed 1,684 professors. Various faculties, revered for their scholarship throughout the world, have been disbanded. Of the 1,684 professors dismissed, 896 were left out for being Jewish, Catholic, or "politically unreliable." Nearly 800 more were dismissed for no known cause. Albert Einstein, the physicists, James Franck and Gustav Hartz, Dr. Fritz Haber, the chemist and Dr. Otton Meyerhof, physician, all Nobel Prize Winners, are among those dismissed.



The New York Times of March 27, 1938 remarks, "Since university men of medicine comprise one-fourth of the total dismissal list, it is interesting to note that the present rector of the University of Berlin was for thirty-seven years a veterinarian in a slaughterhouse."

Student enrollment has decreased from 117,000 in 1933 to 85,000 in 1938. The Nazi slogan might be amended to "Strength through Joy—and Ignorance."

Wage Cuts

The forty-sixth annual report of the General Electric Company, the largest electrical equipment trust in the world, shows a net income for 1937 of $63,546,762, an increase of 45 percent over 1936.

Nevertheless, on April 11, General Electric announced salary reductions for full-time salaried employees earning more than $2,000 a year. The reductions were necessary, they said, because of a 36 percent decline in orders for the first two months of the year.

On the same day that the salary reductions were made public, the United Electrical and Radio Workers Union, CIO, signed a contract with General Electric, providing that the company is to continue paying wages as high or higher than the prevailing wage for similar types of work in the communities where General Electric plants are located.

This news item proves two things. One, that the workers can maintain their standard of living by militant union action in a period of business recession. Two, that engineers, office workers, secretaries and employees who received more than $2,000 per year may now realize that only the union conditions which the General Electric shopworkers have, can maintain their own standard of living in the face of a wage-cutting drive.

QUESTIONS and ANSWERS

Dear Comrade GREEN:-

I'm writing to ask a question about Eugene Lyons' book, "Assignment in Utopia." I haven't read the book, since I can utilize that time in reading something more useful and constructive. But my "liberal" friends quote him extensively and use him to pan the USSR at every turn.

Kindly recommend what procedure I should follow and name books and pamphlets for me to read and study, which will enable me to see through his phony arguments.

Specific questions and statements to be answered:

1. Stalin removed pictures of Lenin and Marx from his study room and replaced them with Peter I.

2. The difference between wages from the highest paid to the lowest paid workers.

3. Was the USSR exporting wheat in '27 or '28 while there was a tremendous need for it in the country?

TULLY D'ARI, *Stuyvesant Branch, N.Y.C.*

Dear Comrade D'ARI:-

I likewise have not wasted my time by reading Mr. Lyons' book. My knowledge of this "literary gem" is therefore limited to what I have read of it in various reviews. Of course, it goes without saying, that I could not help but know that this book has become somewhat of an "anti-Soviet bible" in reactionary circles and has received the official blessing of the hierachy of the Catholic Church.

The sole value of Mr. Lyons to the reactionaries is precisely the fact that they can pan him off not only as a "liberal" but even as a former "radical." When someone who writes against the Soviet Union starts off by saying, "Russia was my first love but now I know better"—he has a chance of catching the ear of some people.

Eugene Lyons' "radicalism" was at best a very shallow substance. It had its foundation in a "Greenwich Village" atmosphere in which to be considered "radical" was to be considered "intellectual" and "ultra-modern." This is shown by the very title of the book. A real radical or Communist never looks upon the Soviet Union as a "Utopia." If Mr. Lyons failed to find the Soviet Union a Utopia he has no one to blame but himself. The Soviet Union is a land in which a great people with their own hands are erecting and building a new social order. This is a painful, difficult, laborious process. If anyone thinks otherwise he merely exposes his own lack of knowledge and his childish inclination to live in a dream world instead of in a world of reality. By the title of the book itself Mr. Lyons admits that he wasn't looking for the land of socialist construction—oh, no, he was looking for Utopia, and since there is no such place, he is disappointed.

Now as to your questions:

1. I am sorry to admit that I do not know what pictures hang in the study-room or for what matter the bed-parlor of Comrade Stalin. All I do know is the following: during four visits to the Soviet Union from 1932 to 1937 I have never, outside of an historical museum, seen a single picture of Peter I, nor a single public building without pictures of Marx and Lenin. If this question was taken from Mr. Lyons' book, it certainly doesn't speak well for his intellectual honesty.

2. As to wage discrepancies. Workers in the Soviet Union get paid on the basis of what they produce. This is nothing new. What is new, however, is the fact that in the past two years a large number of people have so mastered technique as to be able to increase their personal production by two, three or five times through the proper utilization of their machines. These people (Stakhanovists) therefore receive the same proportionate increase in wages. This means that there is a considerable gap between the wages of workers who have not yet mastered technique and those that have. Is this a good or bad development? It is good to say the least. It shows that the people are beginning to learn how to use their machines properly and that in a relatively short period of time production will rise to new high levels. The aim of the Soviet Union is to bring all workers up to the level of the Stakhanovists. In this manner, on the basis of greater productivity per man, all workers will be able to attain higher and higher material standards of living.

WAGE INEQUALITY

The Stakhanovists are an example to all workers. They show that when production increases it will be the workers who benefit. This system is therefore an incentive for the workers who are slower in mastering technique to improve their work and increase their wages.

When Stakhanovism first started in 1935 the emphasis of the country was on the individual Stakhanovist. Now it has shifted. Instead of working to develop a handful of

extra-good-workers in each factory the objective today is to use the present Stakhanovists in order to help ALL the workers in the factory to boost their own production levels. In this manner the wages of all the workers are being increased and before long the gap in wage rates will narrow considerably.

"Why do not all workers receive equal pay?" Because during the socialist stage of society (before Communism has been fully achieved) production has not yet reached a point where all can receive according to their needs. In this stage each person gets from society in accordance with what he gives to society. The motto is: "From each according to his ability: to each according to his work." When a completely classless society emerges, when the productive level of society has left our present one far behind, then society will operate on a different principle: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs." These concepts of the two stages of socialist development were given us by Marx and Lenin and were further developed in theory and practice by Stalin.

WHY WHEAT EXPORTS?

3. As a vast agricultural country Russia has always exported wheat. Undoubtedly this was also true of 1927-28. But if you want to ask, "Did the Soviet Union export wheat during periods in which this same wheat could have been used within the country?" I will answer without hesitation—yes. Nor should the reason for this be surprising. The Soviet Union had to export agricultural commodities in order to import industrial commodities. Without machinery, without machine tools, without autos and tractors, etc., it would have been impossible to carry through the five year plans—would have been impossible to industrialize and collectivize the country. To have refused to export wheat in order to import machinery would have meant to perpetuate the old role of Russia as the granary of Europe, as the most backward country in Europe.

Where would the Soviet Union be today if it had not energetically and, it goes without saying, with certain sacrifices, taken the road towards industrialization? It would be torn apart by the fascist birds of prey no less than is China and Spain today. Those who object to the fact that industrialization was carried through at the expense of sacrifice must bear in mind that the failure to industrialize the country at a rapid tempo would have been at the expense of the revolution itself. There was no alternative; either rapid industrialization and collectivization or destruction by world imperialism. Which would you have chosen?

In answer to your request for recommended books and pamphlets I want to suggest that you go to the Workers Book Store at 50 East 13th Street, where you will find a variety of books and pamphlets dealing with the Soviet Union. By consultation with the comrade in charge you can choose pamphlets or books covering those questions you may be interested in. I would, however, highly recommend the two volumes of "Soviet Communism" by Sidney and Beatrice Webb as the most authoritative of all recent works on the USSR, written by two people whose reputation as students of social development and whose intellectual honesty and integrity are beyond reproach.

Thanks for your letter. Do not hesitate to write at any future time when problems of this kind arise.

Comradely yours,

GILBERT GREEN

With this issue we inaugurate a feature which has been felt necessary for some time. Any reader of the magazine should feel free to write in on any political or social question pertaining to our movement, its principles, its tactics, its manner, and approach. District organizers, and speakers for the movement, are particularly invited to send in copies of questions which are asked at meetings and discussions. Not only will they be answered by the Editorial Board but they shall serve as a guide to the kind of problems that must be discussed in extended articles.

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MOTHER BLOOR WRITES OF MAY DAYS SHE HAS SEEN

(*Continued from Page* 19)

went to some peasant towns outside of Moscow. We trooped all over with the cars and the speakers and the bands, and had meetings.

"Of course, in the Soviet Union the young people participate to a great extent?"

"I find that especially in the Soviet Union the youth are the gayest and most colorful and best part of the parades. They prepare all kinds of floats, which sometimes make very sarcastic implications about anything they don't like. And of course there are beautiful ones of things they like. They put on wonderful physical culture demonstrations at the May Day celebrations.

"Before any large event like May Day they have demonstrations in the square in Moscow for weeks ahead of time—even months before, just as they had before the last celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Soviet Union. No matter how cold it is, they have plays and dances right out in the open. Young people play a big part in these demonstrations."

THIS MAY DAY

Bringing our interview to a close, I thought of the great problems which confront the people's movement in the United States today. Wars of aggression are taking a heavy toll of workingmen's lives in Spain and China. Fascist forces in our country seek to undermine the progressive movements, handicapping the forward looking proposals of the President at every turn. This May Day will be more important than ever before as the mobilization of millions for progress and democracy.

"Mother Bloor," I asked, "Where will you be this May Day?"

"I expect to spend my May Day in New York City," she replied, "Out at the head of the parade if I can."

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